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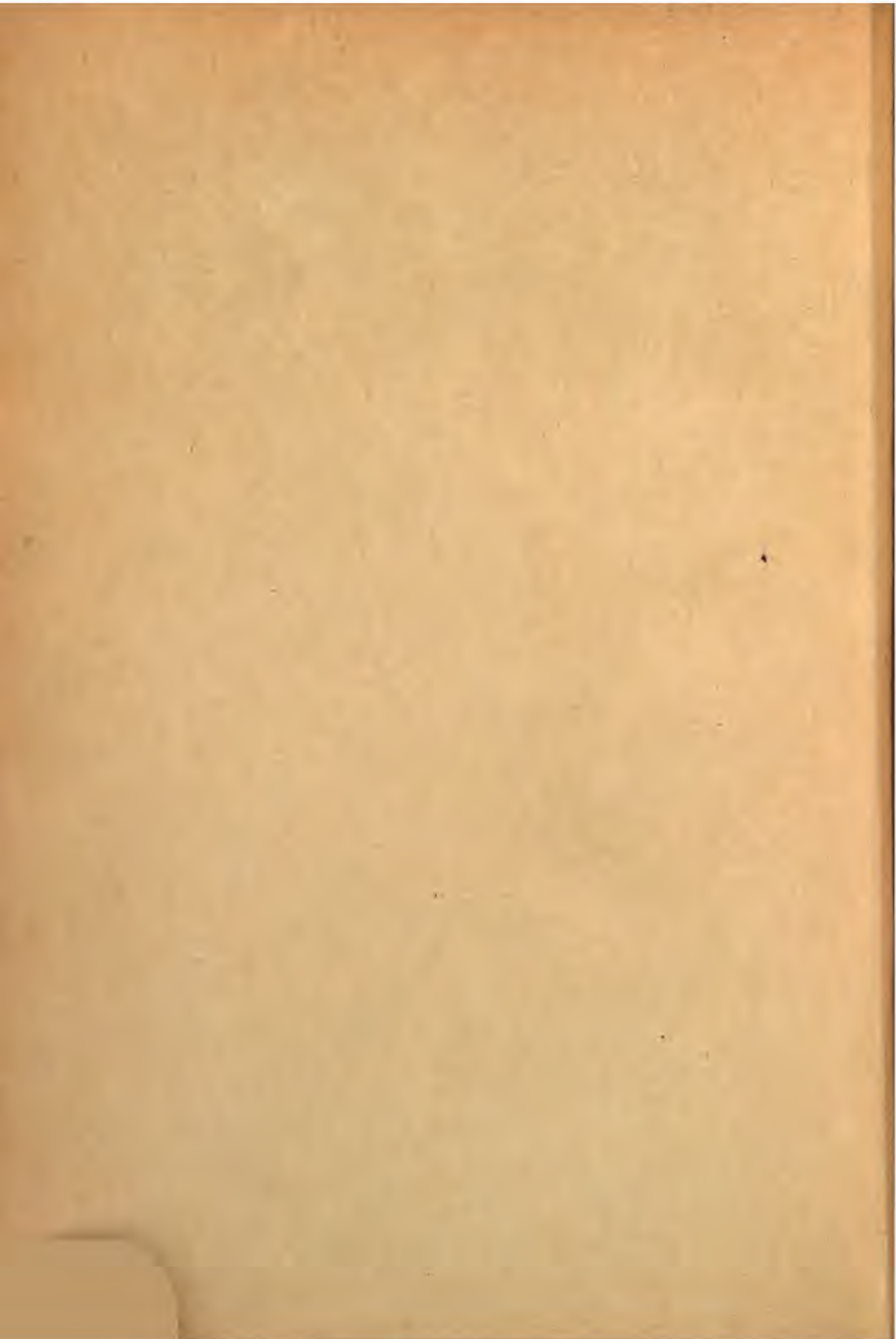


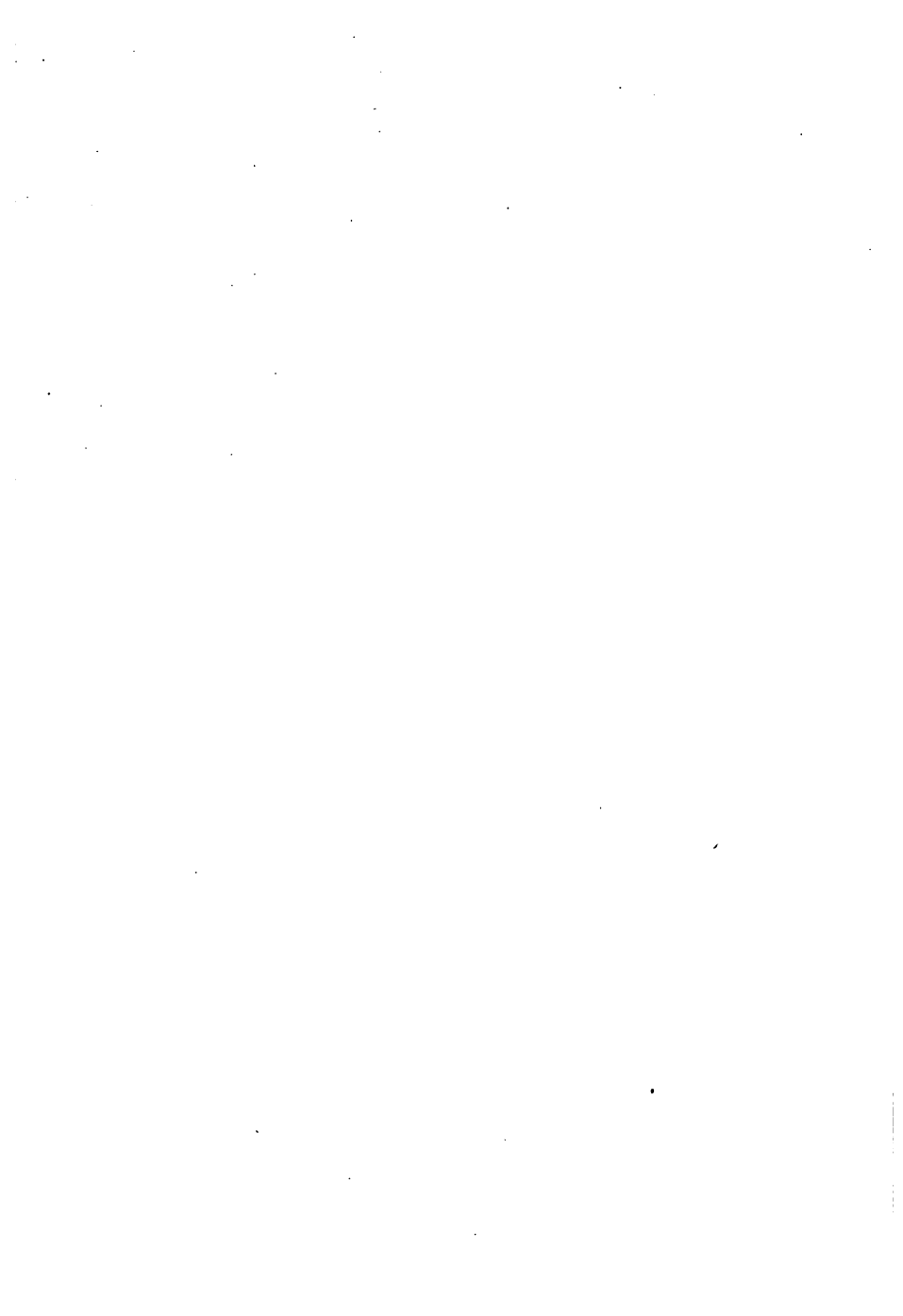
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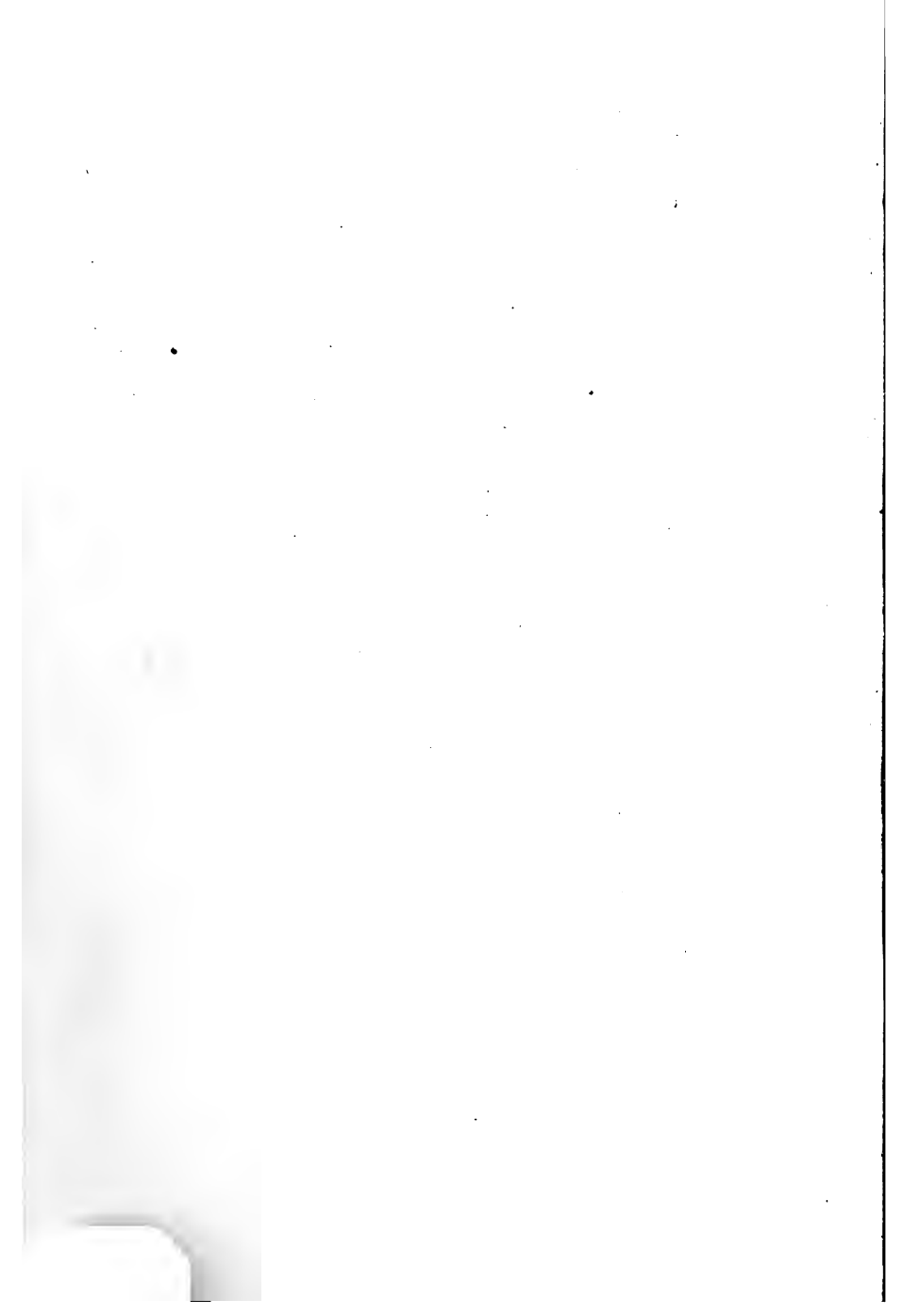
FROM

The Translator

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GOETHE'S FAUST

BY

KUNO FISCHER

Professor of Philosophy in the University of Heidelberg ; Author
of 'System der Logik und Metaphysik, oder Wissenschafts-
lehre,' 'Geschichte der neuern Philosophie' &c.

Third Edition, Revised and Enlarged

Volume I.

FAUST LITERATURE BEFORE GOETHE

TRANSLATED BY

HARRY RIGGS WOLCOTT

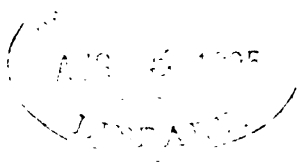


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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO

THE THIRD EDITION.

ALTHOUGH this work does not require many additions, it having been only a few years since the second edition appeared, yet its size has made necessary a division into two separate volumes, in which form it is now published. The First Volume deals with the development of Faust literature up to Goethe's time. The Second Volume takes up the origin, the idea, and the composition of Goethe's Faust.

The finding of the Göchhausen copy of the so-called "Urfaust" (original Faust) may be considered the most important event in the recent history of Faust literature. Of the importance of this find and its influence upon Faust criticism I have already treated in the book entitled: "Die Erklärungsarten des Goetheschen Faust" (The Different Methods of Interpreting Goethe's Faust), the second of my two works on Goethe which have appeared since the second edition of this. It is essential, however, that I should speak of this discovery in the present work as well.

I will not, in this Preface, return to the excrescences of the historico-critical method of

consideration which have been rampant in the field of Faust interpretation, and probably continue to flourish; nor will I speak again of the ridiculous whimsies of the craze for showing where Goethe has borrowed; for Hugo Falkenheim, in his review of my works and the historical method in literature, has grouped all questions referring to this method of consideration and devoted to them a careful discussion, which has received thoughtful attention and found favor with opponents as well as friends.

The first thing necessary in order to do away with literary evils and absurdities which are in vogue, or even in the ascendancy, is to employ the greatest keenness in discerning them and making them discernible. For this purpose Braitmaier's formidable polemic treatise against the "Goethekult" (Goethe worship), which is practiced at the expense of Lessing and Schiller, and against the "Goethephilologie" (commentaries on Goethe) which changes the poet, at the expense of his genius, into a literary manufacturer, is also valuable. We must first learn to justly appreciate and to understand our great poets and their works (I mean Lessing, Goethe and Schiller) before the instruction in German at our universities can accomplish in any measure what the instruction in classic philology, even in its deteriorated state, has accomplished.

KUNO FISCHER.

HEIDELBERG,

November, 1892.

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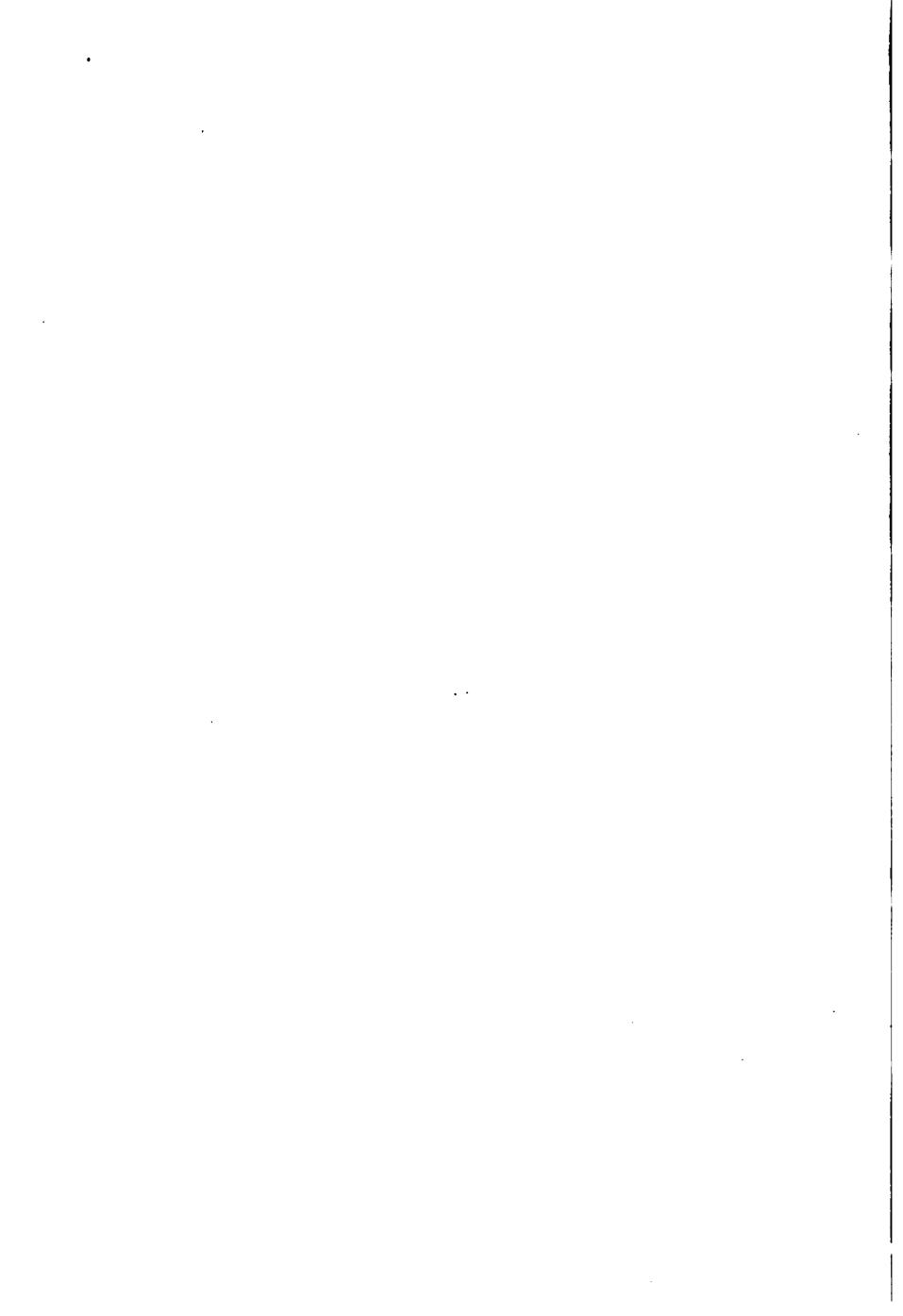
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BOOK FIRST

Faust Literature Before Goethe



CHAPTER I.

THEME AND PROBLEM.

I. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE WORK.

IN the eighth decade of the last century, the German world of thought and feeling entered upon that period of powerful fermentation which gave rise to the epoch of our literature so marked with genius—the grandest epoch our country has known since Luther. For this fermentation the way was well prepared. It was preceded by a development which, from the smallest beginnings, had striven laboriously upwards. Klopstock had lent wings to this development, and Lessing had given it guidance, until it became strengthened in the feeling of its own power. From the storm and stress of those years Goethe's *Faust* takes its origin. The day calls many things great which are as transient as the generations and questions of the day. What is preserved through the course of centuries, living on, ever working, in the souls of men, is lifted above

the reach of time and grows with each succeeding generation. Things thus truly great on the landscape of our intellectual world are like the mountains to whose towering peaks we look up: One of these peaks is the poem with which we are dealing. It is the highest and richest expression of the brightest and grandest of lives. It is the expression of a people, of an age. In the compass of all our literature no other poem can be found of which one can say, as one can say of this, that its name and fame extend as far as the extreme limits of the knowledge of German poetry. There is none other in which the genius of our people recognizes so distinctly a revelation of the innermost peculiarities of its nature; none other which it looks upon as the book which discovers the secret of its existence, and therefore has embraced with a love which no criticism can argue away, or even weaken. Every German who has once felt the charms of this poem is fascinated by it, and again and again he is allured to bury himself in its enjoyment and contemplation, as though only after renewed and more mature experience the time had come when he could really understand and fathom it. We feel as the poet did himself when, after an interval of many years, he

came back to this work of his younger days with the purpose of awakening in it new life, and wrote the following lines of the dedication:

"Again ye come, ye hovering forms! I find ye,
As early to my clouded sight ye shone!"*)

Throughout the whole extent of European literature there is probably only one poem which, in its effect upon its own people and the world, may be compared with Goethe's *Faust*, and that is Dante's poem of hell, purgatory, and paradise. Born of the genius of the Italian people, this poem has become a revelation to man far beyond its national boundaries. In it we find represented a view of the world which partakes of the spirit of the Middle Ages, and which already shows a tendency toward the revival of antiquity. The relation which the *Divine Comedy* bears to the spirit of the Italian people and to the dawn of the Renaissance is analogous to the relation which Goethe's *Faust* bears to the spirit of the German people and modern times. Both works have a theme of everlasting import, namely, the fall and the redemption of man. For this reason, I call Goethe's poem our

*) From Bayard Taylor's English translation, which will be quoted throughout this work. The original follows:

"Ihr naht euch wieder, schwankende Gestalten,
Die früh sich einst dem trüben Blick gezeigt."

"Divina Commedia." It was not this in its first form, but became so in the process of its development; and that it took on this grand character was a natural outgrowth; for the germ lay in its origin. Schelling, in his lectures on the method of academic study, speaks of Faust as being "the most unique poem of the Germans;" and he saw from the Fragment alone that it would mark an epoch in the history of our literature. These are his words: "In so far as one can judge of Goethe's Faust from the fragment of it which has appeared, this poem is the purest and innermost essence of our age; but the materials for its creation were drawn from all ages; and events which were slumbering, and perhaps still slumber, in the lap of time were even anticipated. Therefore it may be called a truly mythological poem."

II. THE NATURE OF THE MATERIALS.

If the question is asked: What work reflects most deeply and most comprehensively the life and genius of our greatest poet, and, at the same time, reveals the character of the German mind, and the spirit which pervades modern times? the reply must be—Faust; for

it is the only work which answers so well these three conditions. The materials for this poem were purely German, having passed through a national development of over two hundred years before they entered into Goethe's plans, as they did, during the most stirring period of the regeneration of our literature. The projection, elaboration, and consummation of ~~Faust occupied in the life of Goethe over two generations.~~ One half of this time falls within the last century, and one half belongs to this.

If we consider, in addition to this, how gradual were the growth and formation of the materials; how *naïve*, simple, and insignificant the beginnings were—first a legend in the mouth of the people, next a story in the form of chap-books, then the best liked of our popular dramas and puppet-plays, again a song of strolling singers, and so on—if we consider these facts, we shall recognize the predisposition and the impulse toward a progressive development until the time should come and bring the genius who was to succeed so grandly in the consummation, that his work, although it, to be sure, allures many to imitate it, at the same time is in itself a guarantee that it will never be excelled, never obscured. These metamor-

phases of the Faust legend it is instructive to follow.

Materials for poems are not artificially manufactured. They are generated as is life itself, and are governed by laws of development similar to those to which the various stages of the formation of organic bodies are subject. These materials are handed down in the mind of man from generation to generation. They are changed and transformed according to the character and disposition of the ages to which they conform, and attain their complete evolution when, in the lapse of time, there is a coincidence of the most favorable conditions.

There are two quite opposite ways in which it is possible to make a mistake in the choice of materials for poems, and thus produce works which have no natural relation to the people for whom they are intended. This is the case when materials are taken which have no previous history in the minds of men of the age; which have not been handed down, felt, and lived. The result of mistakes of this nature is productions which have been brought forth with a certain degree of learning after the manner of hot-house plants, and so adjusted in the hot-bed of a poor imagination as to make them slip off the

tongue readily. For such poems contemporaries will manifest but a slight and artificial interest, and this for a short time only. What is forced soon decays, and then no one wants it. I will name as an example the legion of wretched historical novels of the seventeenth century, "*Der Simplicissimus*" alone being a gratifying exception. There are similar fabrications of the present which the same fate awaits.

The opposite of this happens if materials are chosen which by no means lack a previous history in the hearts of men; which are, in fact, most amply possessed of this essential—subjects which for centuries have occupied the soul and the imagination of each succeeding generation; but which have acquired such an authentic, familiar, and inviolable form that we cannot wean ourselves from it, nor do we wish to do so; form and matter have become so inseparable that the latter cannot be detached and transformed in the poet's workshop. A subject which has a definite and established form familiar to the whole world should not be remodeled and treated with caprice by the poet. No poet can vie with the Bible in the representation of Biblical subjects. Klopstock, when he set his hand to the compo-

sition of "The Messiah" made one of the most notable and most instructive mistakes of this sort in the history of our literature. Yet Klopstock was a true poet, and the spirit of the time was most favorable to his work.

With Goethe's Faust it is quite different. Here the materials had become familiar to the people through association, but were, at the same time, in a very rude form as yet. The grand features were, it is true, here and there discernible, but they lay buried in the raw material, being by this restrained as though in a chrysalis. Who at the present day reads Klopstock's Messiah? No one for pleasure alone, or that it may become a part of his mental life. A few, and only a few, read it for scholarly interests, in order to become acquainted with it. But who does not read Goethe's Faust? As long as the human soul continues to feel the need of poetry the study and the enjoyment of this work will always furnish one of the noblest means of satisfying this need.

III. THE VARIOUS METHODS OF INTERPRETATION.

1. The Dogmatical Interpretation.

The profound character of our poem has been felt from the very first. As a result of this impression people have become accus-

tomed to regard Goethe's *Faust* as a difficult problem, as the great Sphinx of our literature. What does the poem mean? What is the significance and what is the idea of the whole? These being known, how are the several features to be explained? How often these questions have been raised, and how many interpretations have been attempted, all aiming at their solution! There must, it is thought, be a central truth to which the poem bears the same relation that a fable bears to its moral. Only when in possession of this truth, it is said, can a correct estimate of the work be formed and its mysterious features be unriddled. Therefore, it is further asserted, everything depends upon discovering the fundamental idea, which will give the key to the comprehension of the whole. Any number of keys has been tried. There is scarcely a system of philosophy from Kant to Schopenhauer which has not made the trial and claimed to be the master-key. The work appears to be taken for a philosophic didactic poem vested with dramatic ideas, for a sort of poetical Gnosticism, in fact. All attempted interpretations become a confused mass of ideas, seeking to take symbolically and interpret allegorically the features of the poem, its characters and scenes.

It is incredible to what aberrations the supposed profundity of such interpreters has given rise, how much it has accomplished in the line of the absurd. Thus, for example, the scene in the dungeon has been interpreted as a symbolical representation of the Christian doctrine of faith. In the scene where Faust comes to set Gretchen free, having in his hand the bunch of keys and the night-lamp, one of these profound thinkers alleges to have discovered that the bunch of keys is the symbol of false self-help, and the night-lamp that of shallow mental enlightenment. Another takes the demoniac dog to be a symbol of the Spirit of Nature, and the wine made by means of magic to flow from the table-top as the symbolical representation of the metamorphosis of plants. It is plain to a third that the revelling students in Auerbach's Cellar is an allusion to the ungoverned fancy of the poets of the second Silesian school; and other nonsensical things of the same nature. Goethe did not look upon these absurd interpretations with disfavor, and even encouraged them in a few instances by undeserved praise. Having, as he says himself, put much of mystery into the poem, it amused him to see people racking their brains over it. One must occasionally throw them such a "*Brocken*"

(crumb) as the Brocken (the mountain on which is located the scene of Walpurgis-Night), remarked the poet. The following well-known saying of Goethe applies most admirably to interpretations of this sort: "In interpreting be sprightly; give a false interpretation if you cannot interpret rightly." I refer to this manner of interpretation, which, though obsolescent, is not obsolete, and still continues to spring up here and there, for the sole purpose of pointing out its fundamental error. How false it is, is shown by the examples it furnishes. But where is the will-o'-the-wisp which it follows? As to the path it takes, and as to the exact amount of awkwardness it displays, these are of no consequence.

It were only possible to explain Goethe's Faust from the stand-point of a fundamental idea, and interpret everything accordingly, if the poet had taken such an idea as its basis; if he had conceived his work from one fundamental thought; had formed it from one piece, as it were, after a uniform plan, and to illustrate this idea had invented the story of Faust entire, or at least a great number of its features. Only in such a manner could a composition have originated which would require an alle-

gorical explanation throughout, only in that case would such a method of interpretation be admissible. But these presuppositions are, in the first place, not proven, and, if examined more closely, will be seen to be mainly false. The Faust legend had had a literary development extending over almost two centuries before Goethe's poem was begun. The poet himself was acquainted with this legend in the most important forms of its development, and he borrowed more features from the materials here found than anyone who has not made a careful study of the history of the Faust legend before Goethe would be inclined to suppose. It must not be assumed without inquiry that Goethe conceived and carried out his work with but one idea in view. That it was not completed at one stroke is certain. In fact, sixty years passed away during its composition, which was interrupted by many long intervals. The plan and the fundamental idea may have changed during this time; the poem may have developed along with the poet. Portions of the work which in the finished form are closely connected, if judged according to the time of their genesis, are widely separated. It may be that, judged according to substance, they are separated as by a chasm. It is our pur-

pose to show in the historico-critical consideration of Goethe's *Faust* that this is really the case.

The poem has its unity; it is of the most living nature conceivable. Its unity does not lie, however, where it is usually sought, namely, in one and the same fundamental thought which sustains and binds the several parts, but in the person of the poet and his development.

This conception, to be sure, detracts from the uniform character of the composition, but the value and importance of the poem are heightened for everyone who follows with an interest equaled by love the deeper trend of Goethe's life in its different windings and epochs. Goethe himself called his poems his confessions; the poem of *Faust* is his most complete confession; it is the poem of his life to a greater extent than any other. Even when the poem ceases to be heard for a great many years in the life of the poet, he having refused to listen to its voice, it still speaks by its silence. Viewed in this light, *i. e.*, taken as the poem of Goethe's life, the value and importance of every part of it are, I should suppose, incontestable. The question as to the æsthetical value of the several parts may be taken as quite another matter. It is to be expected that there will be a difference of opinion on this

point; yet æsthetical criticism should not pass its final judgment upon this work of art until it has made a thorough study of the poem as it stands, and has explained it from the stand-point of the poet's course of development.

In order to understand the poem one must first of all know the manner of its genesis. Goethe liked very much to keep the origin of his poems secret, and to conceal the traces of his sources from the eyes of the public; he did not want people looking into his workshop. That is why the attempted interpretations of Faust afforded him so much amusement; for they showed very plainly how little was known to the interpreters of the manner in which the work had originated. They took it as though it had sprung all at once from the mind of the poet just as Pallas Athene had sprung from the head of Zeus. Viewing objects, whether it be works of nature or of art, as extant, without questioning how and through what means they have come into existence, *i. e.*, how they have originated, herein consists the dogmatical manner of representation, which controlled the stand-points of all schools of philosophy before Kant, and which still lies at the basis of all those interpretations of our poem which pre-

suppose without inquiry the unity of the idea and composition.

2. The Critical Interpretation.

On the other hand, the searching out of the origin of things, whether it be works of nature or of art, together with the explanation of the changes from which the given condition—the object as it presents itself to us—has resulted, marks the critical point of view. Development is genesis continued; therefore, the question in regard to the history and development of things, and the question in regard to their genesis—the historical question and the critical question—are so inseparably connected that the scientific character of this manner of consideration and elucidation is designated by the term historic-critical. It is the historic-critical method which we must apply to our subject in order to arrange our plan of inquiry.

The next thing to be considered is, the correct application. It does not devolve upon us to be the first to introduce the critical method into the interpretation of Goethe's *Faust*; for here, as in other fields, it has been long in full operation. The dogmatic interpretation, which, starting with false presuppositions, imputed to the poet all sorts of ideas, and in its

capricious attempts at allegorical and gnostic interpretation became lost in the absurd, is almost a thing of the past, there being only an occasional belated straggler, whose voice dies away scarcely heard. The attempts at biographical and historical interpretation have taken its place, and constitute the dominating tendency. But domination is always exposed to the danger of exaggeration and degeneracy; and it seems to me that in our domain also such devious paths are perceptible. A very unhistorical and uncritical use may be made of the method called historic-critical, and thus suppositions may be adopted which vie, as regards caprice and invention, with the old dogmatic fictions. If ideas which the poet never had are imputed to him, it is wholly immaterial by what way such imputation is made—whether by way of philosophic speculation, or of historic learning. Such imputations have no value, as far as the elucidation of the subject is concerned. It is well to examine into the materials upon which Goethe drew for his poems, and let the search after what has been borrowed be continued until all has been found which the poet can possibly have been conscious of borrowing, or which was within his range of vision. That which

lies without these limits may perhaps be deserving of notice in connection with the history of the subject, or of the materials for the poem; but it does not bear upon the genesis of the work itself. If one oversteps these bounds, he runs the risk of looking upon the question concerning the genesis of the poem as identical with the question as to what has been borrowed. I notice in the recent interpretations of Goethe's works that many have entered upon a regular chase after such borrowed matter; in which chase some play the part of the hunters, and others—the lesser spirits—the part of the whippers-in. They think they have accomplished wonders if they succeed in scaring up persons and occurrences which may have floated before the poet's mind when writing this or that passage. A great ado is made over his inventive power; but in dealing with the subject it is not considered. What the poet has to impart he must have gotten somewhere, they argue. Where did he get it? they ask themselves. They seem to think that what Goethe says, some one before him must have said. Who said it? they inquire. They even claim that, in order to have been able to depict an engaged man who is jealous, he must have first found somebody who acted out before his

eyes the character of a jealous husband; when he finds this somebody, the second part of "The Sorrows of Werther" is produced. When Faust exclaims:

"Two souls, alas! reside within my breast."*)

we are at once referred to prior instances, and are informed who before Faust possessed two souls, and who before Goethe spoke of two souls.

Goethe remarks in one of his conversations with Eckermann: "I have always found that it is well to know something." How did he come by this sentence? Who, before Goethe, said it is always well for one to learn something? Who was the first to utter this profound remark? The deep research applied to Goethe's works in our day may yet go so far that these questions will earnestly occupy its attention.†)

3. The Problems.

We shall very soon have an opportunity of becoming acquainted through instructive examples with the excrescences of the his-

*) "Zwei Seelen wohnen, ach! in meiner Brust."

†) Cf. Kuno Fischer's *Goethe-Schriften*: "Die Erklärungsarten des Goetheschen Faust" (Heidelberg, 1889). pp. 1-33.

toric-critical method of interpretation in its application to our subject. The correct application, which we propose as our task, involves a number of questions which must be answered before the work can be explained in detail. The idea and composition of Goethe's *Faust* cannot be considered until, taking the life of the poet as a standpoint, the genesis and history of his work have been exposed. Since the *Faust* legend is the material which formed the basis of Goethe's poem, the genesis and development of this legend must be discussed before the biographical inquiry can be taken up. But the *Faust* legend also has its antecedents and its prototypes. It belongs to the category of legends which describe the deeds and fortunes of a magician, or *magus*, and which, for convenience, will be spoken of as *Magus* legends. In the treatment of our subject we shall accordingly have to deal with the following questions in the order given:

1. What are the characteristic features of the *Magus* legend, and what are the chief forms of its development previous to the *Faust* legend?

2. What are the characteristic features of the *Faust* legend, and what are the chief forms of its development before Goethe?

3. What part do the inception, elaboration, and completion of Goethe's Faust, occupy in the life of the poet?

4. How is it with the idea and composition of Goethe's work? In other words: how was the plan (the idea) conceived and developed, and what relation do the several parts of the poem bear to this plan?

5. How is the poem, taking its scene by scene, to be explained?

The Magus legend may be said to be completed in the Faust Legend, as is the latter in Goethe's Faust; for also in poetical works and works of art the law of heredity is valid. There are in Goethe's Faust many features which show signs of heredity, and which actually do take their origin from ancestors; and the line of these ancestors is a long one.

CHAPTER II.

*ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF
THE MAGUS LEGEND.*

I. THE DIVINE CHARACTER OF MAGIC.

1. Natural Religion.

THE Magus legend is founded upon the belief in magic, and this belief itself has its root in a religious view of the world which, however manifold the gradation of its forms, and stages of growth, bears the stamp of natural religion, or mythology, *i. e.*, exhibits the character of paganism, which ran the course of its historical development in all the civilized nations of the world before Christ, with the exception of the Jewish. The belief in magic presupposes the deification of the powers of nature, and takes the deification of man's power as its theme. He who can grasp the divine forces at work in the world, and make them his own; he who possesses the means of working upon these forces and acting through

them, has in him something of the power of the gods, and can control the course of nature, to which other mortals must yield: he appears in their midst like a god who towers over all; he is the great and mighty man—a magician.

To have control over the course of nature, is to have power over time and space, over the forming and destroying elemental forces, over life and death. The exercise of this power consists in prophesying or foretelling future events; in occasioning favorable and unfavorable meteorologic conditions; in the healing, as well as producing, of diseases of all descriptions; in the preservation of life, and the evoking of the dead. The magicians are therefore seers and prophets, weather-makers, performers of miraculous cures, and necromancers. And since the supernatural knowledge of the future is coupled with certain signs in things present which are only visible to the seer's magical eye, they are augurs as well; and since time is determined by the course of the stars, above all, astrologers. The fancy of natural religion personifies the forces of nature, creative, as well as destroying, *i. e.*, it transforms them into demons, some of a benignant, and others of a malignant, character, in other words, into good and bad spirits.

The belief in magic is, therefore, very closely connected with the belief in demons. It is believed that certain people are in league with demons, that they are given control over these demons, and that they have the power to conjure up spirits, and make them do their bidding. And just as the latter are divided into good and bad spirits, so accordingly there are two kinds of magic—beneficent, celestial, or white magic, and maleficent, earthly, or black magic.

The worship of gods, *i. e.*, the cult practiced, consists of the performance of certain works in honor of the gods, and for the purpose of their delectation. The gods rejoice when they are glorified, and are angry when they are neglected. The chief works are the sacrifices. By means of a sacrifice performed according to rule, an influence is exerted over the will of the gods, their favor is won, and their strength and help in changing the course of human events are secured. Magic which acts in this manner is called theurgy. Therefore every cult which is practiced for the purpose of pleasing the Divinity, or the gods, is theurgical and magical in its character; and, indeed, this is not merely a kind of magic, but it is rather the source and foundation of magic; for

the power to perform supernatural things must proceed from the gods, and be by them bestowed upon man. This power is bestowed only upon such men as have a most intimate and favored intercourse with the gods. This intercourse takes place through the sacrificial rites; and if the laws and doctrine of a religion provide that the performance of such rites shall constitute the privilege of a particular caste, or class, this sole right is vested in the priests. In this case the priests are looked upon as magicians in league with the gods, as the possessors of mysterious wisdom and power. So it was with the religions of the Chaldeans, Egyptians, and Persians; and especially the Medo-Persian priests came in course of time to be called magicians. In the documents of the Persian religion, however, neither the term, nor the thing itself, is to be found; and it is therefore wrong that Zoroaster should figure as the great magician of antiquity.

2. The Jewish Religion.

As opposed to the natural religions of neighboring peoples, the Jewish religion developed the monotheistic idea, and rose, in the progress of its history, to the unity and purity of the conception of God. It took on a theocratic and

prophetic character, and at last robed itself in rigid hierarchical forms of worship, which were done away with by the prophet of Nazareth. The belief in one God, who has made the Jews his chosen people, who is their educator, who shapes and directs their destinies, now rewarding and now punishing, now chastening and now glorifying, necessarily includes the belief in miracles—the belief in the miracles of God as opposed to those of idols. This God must reveal himself in a supernatural, *i. e.*, a miraculous manner. He must be a worker of miracles, and must also have followers who perform miracles. The Jewish belief demands that its God and its prophets shall prove their power by signs and miracles which are mightier than those of the false gods and their priests; it discriminates between true and false miracles, between divine and demoniac magic; or, if the word magic may not be applied to both, between workers of miracles, and magicians. Thus Moses victoriously opposes the Egyptian priests, and Elias the priests of Baal.

Also, magic in its narrower sense is associated by later tradition with one of the grandest names of Jewish history; not with that of a prophet, nor with that of a priest, but with the

name of the wisest of kings, who, by his remarkable knowledge of man and the world, by the grandeur and luxury displayed in his manner of living, and finally, by his tolerance of heathen cults, has acquired with posterity the reputation of a *magus*, or master of spirits. Thousands of years after Solomon, books on magic and the art of conjuring arose under his name. One of these books Goethe makes Faust to use to conjure up the elemental spirits. Faust says:

“For all of thy half-hellish brood
The key of Solomon is good.”*)

3. The Hellenic Religion and Philosophy.

The Hellenic gods were in their origin forces of nature, and in their consummation human ideals—archetypes of human strength and beauty. This consummation, which first gave the Greek gods their real character, was the work of poetry and art. Homer and Hesiod did not invent the gods of their people, but they hellenized them. Here in Greece there developed from natural religion a religion of art. It did not take the form of theology, as with the oriental nations, but

*) “Für solche halbe Höllenbrut
Ist Salomonis Schlüssel gut!”

rather the æsthetical form, and did not find its way to the priests, but; on the contrary, to the poets, artists, and philosophers; the Greeks had, therefore, no special priesthood which was in possession of the secrets of magic. To be sure, the belief in the gods includes the belief in magic; for the gods control the course of the world, and are gifted with supernatural powers. The temple worship and the sacrificial rites gladden their hearts and gain their good-will; there exists, therefore, a link between magic and the Greek religion. He who believes in the power and favor of the gods, must also believe in the magical power of their worship.

That divine or demoniac forces are inherent in natural phenomena is the presupposition of all magic. That men of superior mental nature gain possession of these forces, and act through them, is its theme. If, according to the fundamental view of pantheism, of which the Greek philosophy was an outgrowth, all things are to be taken as animated and possessing a soul, and the omnipresence of divine or demoniac forces in the material world obtains, then a magical agency must be ascribed to nature itself. The union and separation of bodies whereby the creations of the external

world are formed and destroyed, appear as the effects of love and hate, of sympathy and antipathy. He who succeeds in comprehending these forces, and discovers the means of directing them, can adjust harmoniously and inharmoniously the phenomena of the world; he is master over wind and weather, health and disease, life and death—in a word, he can practice magic. Here is the link between magic and Greek philosophy.

We know only one philosopher of antiquity who, being filled with such views, considered himself a magician, and proclaimed himself as such, namely, Empedocles of Agrigentum. In priestly garb he wanders through the cities of Sicily, glorified by all the people, and waited for as a savior, who, wherever he appears, delivers men from their misfortunes and distress. He thus addresses the people:

I greet thee! an imperishable god and no longer a mortal,
Honored by all, I walk here with thee, as is proper;
Fillets encircle my head, and so green and luxuriant garlands.

When I, festively adorned, arrive in the flourishing cities,
Greetings from men and from women are bowed to me
approaching, and many

Thousands, too, follow on after, inquiring the way of salvation;

Words from the mouth of the seer some require, and still
numbers of others,

Greatly tormented by sickness and pain, much desire a
physician.

Pythagoras, the reformatory philosopher of the sixth century, is usually taken to be the true Hellenic magician. Whether he appeared to himself as a magician, as did Empedocles, we do not know; for we have on this point neither his own testimony, nor authentic reports from others. Yet, through his wisdom and his personality, through his peculiar teachings and the moral-religious character of his school, he left behind him such a powerful and mysterious impression, enduring for centuries, that posterity has surrounded this grand legendary personage with the glory of a religious *magus*, and transformed his life into a marvelous history. This occurred at a time when the Greek world, already in its decline, roused its philosophical strength for a final effort, in order, by bringing about a religious revival of the Pythagorean and Platonic doctrines, to save their mythology, unite the oriental religions with the Hellenic, and both with philosophy, and lead these united forces, in the form of a heathen world-religion, into the field against the Christian religion. At the head of this movement stands one in whom is embodied all religious wisdom—a son of the gods, sent for the enlightenment and salvation of the world—a theurgian, prophet, and miracle-worker, in league

with the gods; in a word, a religious magician, who is not merely to vie with Christ, but to surpass him. With this purpose in view the Neopythagorean, Apollonius of Tyana, deified, in the first century of the Christian era, Pythagoras; then Philostratus, at the beginning of the third century, Apollonius; and later, the Neoplatonists, Porphyrius and Iamblichus, again apotheosized Pythagoras. Thus the Hellenic Magus legend assumed an anti-christian form. They set up their model of a world-savior in opposition to the Christian Savior, their sons of gods in opposition to the Son of God, the old belief in gods to the new belief in God. "The One Invisible is alone worshiped in heaven, and a Savior is adored on the cross!"

II. THE DIABOLICAL CHARACTER OF MAGIC.

Christianity combats and overthrows the belief in gods. It regards this belief as an hostile religion, as radically false and a forgery throughout—the work of dark, demoniac powers. He who worships according to this belief is fettered with the chains of demons. He who works miracles by this faith is in league with the spirits of darkness, and is assisted by them. The features of the Magus

legend now change. Instead of divine power being given the magician as formerly, his power is diabolical in its character. Works of magic are regarded as sure signs of defection from God, and of having formed a league with the evil one. The love of god requires and practices renunciation of worldly pleasures; for the kingdom of God is not of this world: man's self-love and selfishness demands the enjoyment of the world. He who craves the things of this life is ensnared by the prince of this world, and is in his power—in the toils of the evil one. If he surrenders himself to this power, the forces of Satan are at his command: he can act through them and gain without labor, *i. e.*, charm forth, whatever he may desire. Magic now consists of this diabolical art. It is at work when our passions blind us; it deludes the mind and creates inordinate desires as well as the means for their gratification. At the word of command whatever is desired is at hand—the illusions of passion, the goal of selfish and arrogant desires, whether it be honor and renown, or riches and sensual pleasures, or mental power and a superior knowledge which overtops the limits of human nature. To wish to be more esteemed, to possess more, to have more power, in a word,

to want to be more, than one is according to the measure allotted to man and his work; to desire to mount to a higher existence—not to attain to this higher plane by labor, but to seize it in a hurry, to get just as quick as one can imagine—this only the most wanton and arrogant selfishness can desire, only magic can grant and can only effect through the devil. It serves the appetites which have broken loose from God. An unbounded love of self is its motive. For self-sacrifice and self-victory one needs the help of God; for self-enjoyment and a grand journey through life with sails always full the help of the devil is necessary. Victory means work; enjoyment which may be had at all times without labor; the gratification of desires in a trice, is the work of diabolical magic: it is a characteristic feature of the latter, and one which has been brought out in one of the chap-books and in the popular dramas of Faust, that the spirits of hell are examined as to their swiftness, the quickest being chosen. And the fulfillment of desires is, as are these themselves, a work of the imagination, *i.e.*, an illusion.

III. PERIODS AND CHIEF FORMS OF THE MAGUS LEGEND.

The characteristic features of the Magus legend may be classified in the same way as

are the religious views of the world which lie at the basis of the belief in magic; we have distinguished in regard to this belief the pre-christian, antichristian, and Christian mode of thought; and in the prechristian world we have referred to the antithesis between the heathen and the Jewish religions, to the latter as having set divine or celestial magic (working of miracles) over against godless or idolatrous magic (sorcery). We shall meet with a similar distinction in the Christian era.

The heathen belief regards magical activity as an emanation of divine consecration and power; the Christian belief, on the other hand, looks upon it as the result of a diabolical gift, imparted to an atheistic heart, or a heart which has forsaken God. The form which the features of the Magus legend take is determined by this belief. The men deified by the Hellenic Magus legend after it assumed its antichristian character were Apollonius and Pythagoras. Here magic, united with religion and philosophy, appears as the highest expression of piety and wisdom; and Apollonius having glorified Pythagoras, the Pythagoras legend, which was the growth of centuries, may be taken as the true type of the Hellenic Magus legend.

We shall distinguish in the Christian era the old and the new epoch, the latter beginning with the sixteenth century; the old epoch may be divided into three periods—the period of the primitive Church, that of the Old Catholic Church, and the middle ages; we shall consider these periods in reference to the Magus legend, and shall distinguish accordingly the legends of the primitive Church and the Old Catholic church, together with those of the middle ages and the sixteenth century. The type of the first period is Simon Magus, the type of the second, Cyprian of Antioch, the earliest form of the third, and one which continued for centuries, the history of Theophilus of Adana, the type and the highest expression of the fourth is the history of Faust.

Since attempts have been made of late to show that the legend of Simon Magus and that of Cyprian are related by derivation or by their similarity to the Faust legend, and especially to Goethe's Faust, we must take a little closer view of these personages.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHRISTIAN MAGUS LEGEND OF THE OLD EPOCH.

I. SIMON MAGUS.

1. Simon and Peter.

THE Acts of the Apostles, eighth chapter, tells of a magician called Simon who had practiced his art in a Samaritan city, "giving out that himself was some great one," and who was praised by the people as "that power of God which is called Great." Philip converts him, but Peter denounces him, because he offers them money for the gift of the Holy Ghost, which the apostles imparted through the laying on of hands. Peter sees from this that his heart is not right before God, and admonishes him to repentance; but Simon, impressed by the words of Peter, implores the intercession of the apostles. This story is so inserted in the Acts of the Apostles that the account of the stoning of Stephen, and Saul's hatred of Christians, immediately precedes it,

and the description of the persecution of the Christians and the conversion of Saul by the vision at Damascus immediately follows.

The legend of the magician Simon was further developed in the legends of Clement of Rome, in the Clementines so-called, which originated in the second century of the Christian era among the Jewish Christians, who were the bitterest enemies of the apostle Paul. The hero whom the history of Clement glorifies is the apostle Peter; on the other hand, the malevolent and obnoxious person who confronts him is Simon the magician, the opponent of the true apostles and of their rightful master, the Antipeter in flesh and blood reality, the false Simon opposed to the true one, in a word, Simon Magus opposed to Simon Peter. It would appear that, prompted by hate, the Jewish Christians meant to strike a blow at the apostle Paul under the guise of this magician, thus asserting that Paul first persecuted the believers, then gave out that he had seen a vision of Christ, whereupon he went through the form of conversion, usurped the dignity of an apostle, stole in among the disciples, and played the part of a converter of the heathen, in order to overthrow Christianity by means of heathenism, and to falsify the true belief in its

very foundation, he being thus taken as the enemy who has sown the tares among the wheat. The belief which accords with the law is the true belief; the belief which is not in accordance with the law, the false one. The justification by a faith which has not the authority of law appears in the mind of the Jewish Christians as a sort of sorcery, or magic belief. In order to restore the true belief, the true Simon follows the false one step by step to the chief city of the heathen world. Here in Rome, Simon Magus overestimates his power so far as to think that he can fly to heaven, and attempts to do so before the eyes of Nero; is, however, by the word of Peter thrown to the earth, and dashed in pieces.

2. Simon and Helena.

The Jewish Christian *Tendenzdichtung* makes the false Simon to appear as the type and supporter of the false doctrine. Simultaneously with the growth of the Clementine legends there arose the Gnostic ideas which seek to take from Christianity its historical basis, transform and explain away the fact of redemption and the person of the Savior so as to leave nothing but cosmogonic myths and a mere theophany, or magi-

cal apparition whose human existence and sufferings were illusory. Simon Magus is made not only the head, but even the subject of one of these Gnostic sects, and is deified as a revelation of the primordial being, as "the great power of god," which is to enlighten and save the world. From him emanates the idea of the sensuous, suffering world which is to be enlightened; from this idea he creates the world. Expressed in mythical terms, the creation appears as marriage and sexual union: the great power of God marries the world-idea (*ἐπίνοια*), the masculine deity marries the feminine, the god of the sun the goddess of the moon, Selene, or Helena. Thus the Gnostic idea of the marriage of Simon and the Helena takes its rise. Light does battle with darkness which it conquers, just as the Greeks did the Trojans, with whom they fought for the possession of the Helena. The Greek heroic legend is now allegorically interpreted as embodying Gnostic ideas in a disguised form, and the Helena of Homer is considered as identical with the Gnostic Helena. Thus arises the idea of the marriage of Simon with the Helena of Homer. Christian opponents have undeified this Gnostic myth and sought to interpret it in such a manner as to make its supposed god a

Samaritan magician, and his consort, Helena, an unchaste female from Tyre.

Whether such a sorcerer ever existed who might have served the legends of the Jewish Christians as a mask of the hated apostle, is a question quite foreign to our present purpose.

3. *Simon and Faust.*

Our reason for viewing the legend of Simon Magus so closely is that we are confronted with the assertion that it must be regarded as the source of the Faust legend, and, to a certain extent, of Goethe's poem as well. For the purpose of comparing both, and in order to prove their connection, three features are made particularly prominent.

The first feature is of an entirely external nature: Simon tried to fly in Rome, and thus came to a miserable end. Faust makes in Venice a similar attempt, which, to be sure, does not end with his death, yet wretchedly enough. Here the similarity between the two magicians was so evident that it could be readily seen, and then, too, it had already been spoken of in a writing which preceded the oldest Faust book. The similarity does not extend, however, to Goethe's Faust.

The two other features are more important: they relate to the marriage of Simon to the Helena, and Simon's supposed non-sexual generation of a boy by the metamorphosis of the elements. He had, it was said, changed fire to air, air to water, water to blood, and blood to flesh, and in this way caused a human being to come forth. The influence of old Greek natural philosophy, and especially of the creed of Heraclitus, is unmistakable in this Gnostic idea. Simon Magus marries the Helena, and brings forth a homunculus. It is known to all what Faust's marriage to the Helena in the Faust legend, as well as in the Second Part of Goethe's Faust, signifies; on the other hand, the homunculus does not belong to the Faust legend, but only to the Second Part of Goethe's Faust, where it is Wagner, however, and not Faust, who brings him into existence.

As regards the marriage to the Helena, critics of our own time, E. Sommer, de la Garde, *et alii*, and more recently, Zahn, have pronounced the Simon legend to be the progenitor of the Faust legend. Sommer having asserted that the author of the oldest chap-book of Dr. Faust must have taken his Helena from the story of Simon Magus, Zahn says in referring

to this statement: "One would suppose that this would need only to be stated in order to find recognition."*) Now, this is not my opinion at all. It is much easier to make such statements than it is to prove them; and it is more advisable to test them than to accept them without further inquiry. The Faust of the legend marries, as does Goethe's Faust, the Greek heroine—the Helena of Homer, whereas the companion of Simon is a Gnostic figure, which only the most capricious allegorical interpretation has transformed into the Helena of Homer. The latter is a thousand years older than the Gnostic Helena, and is known to all the world, whereas Simon's companion is foreign to the body of ideas found in the Faust legend, or in Goethe's poem. Therefore, all talk of borrowing is useless.

In order that we may recognize "the roots" of the Faust Helena in the Simon legend, Zahn refers us to the following passage, which is found in the oldest Faust book, shortly after the introduction of the Helena: "In the eighth chapter of Acts you see the example of Simon of Samaria, who had led many people astray;

*) Th. Zahn: "Cyprian von Antiochien und die deutsche Faustsage" (Erlangen, 1882), p. 11.

for he was, strangely enough, looked upon as a god, and called the power of God, or Simon Deus sanctus: he was, however, afterward converted; and having heard the sermon of St. Philip, he was baptized" . . . Now, I should like to know where in this passage of the Faust book, or in the above mentioned place in the Acts of the Apostles which the author has in mind, there is anything about the marriage of Simon Magus to the Helena. Faust is compared with Simon, the magician with the magician, the seducer with the seducer, the apostate with the convert: où est la femme ?

The assertion that "the idea of the homunculus also has the ancient Simon legend as its source" is equally inane and false. This idea does not belong to the Faust legend, but only to Goethe's Faust. Here, however, the homunculus is of Wagner's manufacture, and is invented for an entirely different purpose from the Gnostic homunculus. Of the latter Goethe knew nothing. It was not the homunculus of Simon Magus, but rather that of Paracelsus, which was his prototype.

But since some insist that the Faust legend originated in the Simon legend they have been obliged to find something in the former analo-

gous to the homunculus. To be sure, a creature begotten of the elements, without father or mother, cannot be scared up though every effort be made, but a child is found which has Faust for his father and the Helena for his mother. In order, then, to transport the homunculus of the Simon legend to the Faust legend, the following conclusion has, it would appear, been considered sufficiently valid: the homunculus in the Simon legend is no ordinary human being; Justus Faustus in the Faust legend is also no ordinary human being; therefore, he is equal to the homunculus, and is taken from the Simon legend. Such conclusions are, it is true, not permissible in any logic, but they are allowed to certain interpreters of Faust. But, then, what is not allowable with them!

Let us study still further the plan adopted to trace out Faust genealogies. Justus Faustus inherits from his father the name Faustus. Nothing is more natural. The name Faustus thus handed down from father to son comes, according to Zahn's apprehension of the German Faust legend, from the Simon legend; for in the Clementine legends the father of Clement is named "Faustus," and his brothers are "Faustinus" and "Faustinianus." "The

name Faustus is therefore one of the threads by tracing which the historical figure of Dr. Faust was found to be coupled with the old Simon legend."*) I see neither the thread, nor the threads. If the hero of our Faust legend was an historical person of this name, the fact of the name occurring in the legend is sufficiently explained. Whether the name Faustus comes from the Simon legend at all, is questionable; whether the name of our Faust is taken therefrom, is still more of a question; but so much is certain, namely, that the previous history of the mere name proves nothing as to the connection between the two legends.

The Helena of the Faust legend does not come from the Simon legend, and the homunculus of the Simon legend is not to be found in the Faust legend. When Goethe introduced the homunculus and the Helena into the Second Part of his poem nothing in his plan showed a trace of having been influenced by the Simon legend. This legend in its Gnostic form probably never entered his intellectual horizon. Nothing bears evidence that it ever came before his mind. The important place which these two characters occupy in Goethe's

*) Ibid., pp. 12-13.

plan is against such a supposition. What remains? Of the derivation which we are told about there is nothing left but a few comparisons whose points do not agree, and which offer nothing toward explaining the legend and the poem of Faust. We have here an example of how incorrectly the historico-critical method is used when borrowed matter is ascribed to or forced upon our poet without any provable trace of the same within his range of thought.*) It is true, they are beautiful verses of Goethe which Zahn has taken as the motto of his book:

"A crystal spring in which I bathe
Is old tradition, yes, and grace."†)

But as for the tradition of Simon Magus, Goethe never bathed in this spring.

II. CYPRIAN OF ANTIOCH.

1. The Importance of the Legend.

In the history of the magician Simon as contained in the Clementines the antithesis which had taken possession of and agitated the apostolic age produced, with the principles of

*) See: *supra*, chap. i., p. 16 *et seq.*

†) "Ein holder Born, in dem ich bade,
Ist Ueberlieferung, ist Gnade."

the Jewish Christian belief as a basis, a legend which may be taken as the Magus legend of the primitive Church.

Vaster and mightier is the conflict which the strengthened Christian Church, in itself united, has to wage with the heathen world which surrounds it. The heathen religion in union with Greek philosophy is the hostile but already weakened power which in the form of Neoplatonism draws up its army of gods in rank and file against the belief in the Crucified One, and in the wonderful histories of Apollonius and Pythagoras seeks to measure the strength of its religious heroes with the Christian Redeemer of the world. In the deification of Pythagoras as brought out by Iamblichus in the first half of the fourth century, we found the Greek Magus legend in a conflict with the Christian belief. *)

If in the midst of this conflict a magician who believes in demons is converted and bows before the cross, Christianity obtains through its power over the minds of men one of its most glorious triumphs. This is the motive and theme of the legend of Cyprian which arose in the second half of the fourth century,

*) See *supra*, chap. ii., pp. 81-83.

and which was afterward collected into three books, and then turned into verse by the wife of the Emperor Theodosius II., Athenais, or as she was called after her baptism (421), Eudocia. This legend Calderon took as the subject of his profound poem, "The Wonder-working Magician" (1637). In the work just mentioned Zahn has thrown new light upon the origin and growth of this legend. We will follow him and see whether we can also appropriate and use his comparison of this legend with the Faust legend and Goethe's poem.*)

2. The History of Cyprian.

According to the legend, which in the second book (perhaps of the original manuscript) contains the confessions and an account of the repentance of Cyprian, the latter was a Greek who was early initiated into the worship of Apollo, the orgies of Bacchus, the mysteries of Mithras, and when but a child of ten years was admitted to the Eleusinian mysteries and the temple worship of Pallas at Athens. In Argos he became acquainted with

*) Cyprian von Antiochien und die deutsche Faustsage. Abschnitt II-V.

the mysteries of Hera, and on Mount Olympus he learned the powers and works of the Greek gods. After having lived ten years in Memphis, and having been there initiated into the Egyptian esoteric doctrine of the power and the signs of the demons, as well as of the dominion over the malignant spirits, he went to Chaldea, in order to learn the mysterious qualities and actions of light, ether, and the stars. Being now acquainted with all the mysteries, he made an agreement with the chief of the demons. This demon placed an army of attentive spirits at his command, and promised him assistance in all things, and after death the rank of a prince. He called him a talented youth, and said: "thou aspiring Cyprianus!" This demon was not of ugly personal appearance, but, on the contrary, was very imposing and attractive; yet he was, as the penitent Cyprian admits, the source of deception and a prince of sin. His works were only shadows and phantoms, misty forms from the smoke of the sacrifices.

After his journey through the world, Cyprian settled down in Antioch, and enjoyed the reputation of a famous philosopher and magician. Here lived Justina, a Christian maiden of wondrous beauty, the daughter of

heathen parents; she had been converted by the word of salvation, as Thecla once had been converted in Iconium by the sermon of Paul. Her belief converted also her parents. Her only love was for Christ; her only wish, a chaste, unmarried life, entirely devoted to Him. The addresses of Aglaidas, a rich and noble youth, were of no avail, owing to her piety, and at last Aglaidas asked Cyprian to win the girl for him by means of magic. But the magician himself was seized with an ardent love for Justina, and called his demons to his aid. However, their seductive arts accomplished nothing. They succeeded, it is true, in exciting her senses with fits of erotic feeling; but her heart resisted them. They could conjure up her shadow for the lovers; but when the latter were about to grasp it, it dissolved into smoke. There was a sign which protected the maiden, and before which even the most powerful of the demons trembled when he saw it: that sign was the cross! Christ and His sign were mightier than all magic. As their last secret the demons were obliged to make to Cyprian this confession of their impotency, and by this confession they implanted in him the belief in the Crucified One. The famous magician became a penitent

sinner, a convert to Christ, ready to do penance for his sins, a shield to believers, a presbyter, bishop, and martyr. Together with Justina he suffered martyrdom so composedly and so joyfully that his example strengthened even the maiden.

The legend names as the time and occasion of this martyrdom the persecution of the Christians under Claudius. Since no such persecution took place, and since the age of Cyprian cannot possibly be identical with the age of this emperor, another hand has written Diocletian, whose name marks the last great persecution of Christians. In the so-called "*Legenda Aurea*," a later revised form of our legend which was used by Calderon, it is said to have been the earlier persecution under the Emperor Decius which brought about Cyprian's martyrdom.

It would seem that the mode of thought and the traits of several ages have figured in the development of our legend. Cyprian, the philosopher and magician, is so described that we can perceive in the background the Neoplatonic doctrine, the school of Iamblichus, the time of Julian the Apostate, while the bishop and martyr Cyprian possesses traits which may have been borrowed from the pro-

totype of the Cyprian of Church History—the bishop of Carthage—who suffered a martyr's death under Valerian (258).*)

3. Cyprian and Faust.

The analogy and the antithesis between the magician of the Church legend of the fourth century and the magician of the German popular legend of the sixteenth century are so important that these two magicians are worthy of a comparison. From the craving for knowledge, from the desire for dominion and enjoyment, both entered into a compact with the demons and became magicians. But Cyprian, having rejected demons and magic, comes to believe in Christ, whereas Faust, having proven himself false to his belief, comes to an agreement with the devil and accepts magic. The former begins as a heathen philosopher, recognizes the delusion of the belief in demons, and is received into the lap of the Church. The latter begins as a Christian theologian, rejects the Holy Writ, and rushes into hell's abyss. When dealing with the Faust of the popular legend and the Faust of the chap-book it is not only bold but false to

*) Ibid., chap. iii, pp. 82-87, and p. 104 *et seq.*

say of Cyprian that he is "the Faust of the early Christian Church." It would be actually senseless for Faust to be called the Cyprian of the sixteenth century. Since the magician's deliberate defection from God and his league with the evil one are among the prominent traits of the Faust legend, while Cyprian, to speak after the manner of the Church, enters into a league with the demons as a blind heathen, we fail to recognize in the figure of the latter "the most essential traits of our Faust." The point of comparison between the two, notwithstanding its weight, concerns only very common human characteristics, so that a "family resemblance," a "deep-founded relationship" which "may be explained by considering the Faust legend as derived from the legend of Cyprian" is out of the question. Even if the author of the oldest Faust book had read the "Legenda Aurea" (which is neither proven nor provable) it would by no means follow from this that such a derivation is true.

Nevertheless, in order to trace out this derivation a long, roundabout way through the poems of Calderon and Goethe has been taken. It is asserted that "The Wonder-working Magician" has been often compared with Goethe's

Faust, and that it has been called the Catholic Faust, or even the Spanish Faust. It is accepted as a fact that Calderon was not acquainted with the German Faust legend, that Goethe first became acquainted with "The Wonder-working Magician" in 1812, and that the Faust legend could not, therefore, have exercised a typifying influence upon the work of the Spanish poet, nor the latter upon the work of the German poet. The conclusion is as follows: "Now, existing as there does a similarity between the two poetical works which seems to indicate a sameness of origin, there is no other explanation for this than that the German legend of Dr. Faust was greatly influenced in its origin by the Old Church legend of Cyprian." And what was at first taken as only a supposition is now asserted as a fact, namely, that the "Legenda Aurea" must have been one of the books read and excerpted by Spies, the printer of Frankfurt, when he gathered the material for the story of Faust.*)

How silly are these arguments which seek to show that simple and natural resemblances prove borrowing and derivation! Since

*) Ibid., p. 8 *et seq.*, p. 10 and p. 132.

Goethe's Faust cannot have originated in Calderon's "Wonder-working Magician" notwithstanding their similarity, a common origin for the sources of the two works must, forsooth, be sought and found; the story of Cyprian must be the root of the Faust legend, and the author of the oldest Faust book must have read the "Legenda Aurea," although the book itself shows no trace of having been influenced by this legend, and the heroes of both legends are totally different, so that the contrast between their mental natures and their fortunes is stronger than the craving for knowledge which is common to them, and which is also inherent in human nature. Goethe's Faust was first in being regarded as the representative of mankind.

Similarity is not derivation. As regards one point, and that a very essential and decisive one, Goethe's Faust is, aside from all derivation, much more similar to the *magus* of the Church legend and of the Spanish drama than it is, in spite of all derivation, to the Faust of the German chap-books and of the puppet-plays: I refer to Faust's salvation. The salvation of Cyprian is effected by his conversion and repentance, his martyrdom so willingly suffered for his belief. The salva-

tion of Faust is not wrought until he has passed through the aberrations and the purgatory of the world, and been gradually purified, the last impure trace of earth being removed by divine grace and love. However, we must not pursue this consideration further, for it properly follows the taking up of Goethe's poem, and reaches to its close.

It has been our purpose to show that, though the early Church legend of Simon Magus, and the Old Church legend of the *magus* Cyprian are ancestors, as it were, of the Faust legend, yet, they are, by no means, as has been asserted, its founders.

III. THEOPHILUS AND THE MAGUS LEGEND OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

Cyprian's league with the demon is based upon his belief in the gods of nature, and therefore requires no special compact whereby a belief of this nature is commonly subscribed to and the opposite belief renounced. As soon as Cyprian discovers that the demons are lacking in power, and recognizes his great error, the league is broken, he being no longer fettered by any chains. In Calderon's poem, Cyprian, blinded by inordinate passion, makes over his soul to the demon

by a contract which he is obliged to write in blood, and finally he saves his soul with his blood shed as a martyr. This strong antithesis probably enabled the poet to make this act of conveyance to take place after the manner of certain prototypes of the middle ages.

The Christian belief in one God makes the heathen gods to appear as the dark powers of evil, and the belief in gods is regarded as a work of the devil, who rules over the demons and imparts magical powers for the service of sin. He who, enticed by selfish desires, wishes to acquire such powers must forsake the service of God, renounce his belief in the Savior, become the servant of the devil, and make over his soul to him. The purpose of the written compact is to so bring out the diabolical character of magic that it shall appear to men as inviolable. In the legend of Mary of Antioch, the magician whose intention it is to win Mary by magic arts for her lover, Athemius, demands that the latter renounce in writing his Christian belief, which he does, but he immediately retracts.*)

In the Theophilus legend, which arose in the sixth century, and which appeared in

*) Ibid., p. 14, and p. 123 *et seq.*

many adaptations during the course of the middle ages, the written contract with the devil is an essential characteristic, which has caused it to be compared with the Faust legend. Theophilus, who occupied the position of *œconomus* in the Church of Adana in Cilicia, was a man highly esteemed, and, owing to the special confidence of the bishop, particularly honored. Upon the death of the latter, being himself chosen bishop, he declined the dignity upon grounds of humility. However, when the new bishop removed him from his charge, his humility changed to ambition and anger; he was resolved to regain his office at any price, and allowed himself to be induced by a Jewish magician to form an agreement with the devil, who demanded and received from him a written renunciation of the Christian faith. But, as soon as his wish was fulfilled, repentance and despair seized him; he prayed to the Mother of God, who heard his prayer, and saved him by her intercession, giving back to him his handwriting, which she had wrested from the devil.

With the exception of the written compact, there is no characteristic point of comparison between the legend of Theophilus and that of Faust, for which reason the former

must not be regarded as the prototype or source of the latter. If the peculiar character of the Faust legend be considered, and comparisons are not used merely as idle phrases, Simon Magus cannot properly be called the early Christian Faust, nor Cyprian of Antioch the Faust of the Old Church, and much less can Theophilus of Adana be spoken of as the Faust of the middle ages.

The Jews, with their theocratic tendencies, distinguished, as we have seen, a twofold magic, setting the miraculous deeds of their God and His prophets over against the sorceries of the idolatrous priests. The former were victorious works, the latter, on the contrary, were impotent.*) A similar distinction is made in the middle ages, when the ideas of the Church prevail. During this period the Christian Magus legend receives, in addition to the idea of damnation, which is characteristic of the devil, the idea of salvation, which originates in the Church. We also find here a divine magic imparted to the theocratic Church; this magic is practiced in the name and in the power of the Holy Ghost, and can drive out the devil, wresting

*) See *supra*, chap. ii, pp. 26-28.

from him, at the last moment, his prey. The gates of hell shall not overpower it! The Church is mightier than hell, and divine magic is more powerful than diabolical magic. However, if the ungodly magician is under the protection of the Church and its powers, or takes refuge therein, he must be saved. The written compact, also, loses its *character indelebilis* if the Church desires to destroy it. In one instance the penance imposed by the bishop destroys its force; in another case the handwriting is wrested from the devil and brought to the bishop. The intercession of the Mother of God saves Theophilus; Militarius, who had fallen from his office in the Church, owing to his love of worldly pleasures, still clung to the worship of Mary, and was thus saved; Robert the Devil, whose soul was made over to the devil even before his birth, is rescued just before his death by the sacrament of the Church; and the constant faith of a mother protects from hell even the devil's son, Merlin, the magician of the Round Table. The magic by the power of which good works are performed in honor of the Church is the infallible remedy for sinful magic. The Church Magus legend of the middle ages does not plunge its heroes into the abyss

unless this opposing force fails to act. It is quite remarkable that it could not save the two popes, Sylvester II., and Paul II., who, one on account of his mental power and his ambition, and the other on account of his sensual desires and love of pleasure, were suspected of being in league with the devil. Owing to the narrow intellectual culture of the middle ages and the lack of a scientific knowledge of the world, which did not begin to widen its inadequate range of vision until the time of the crusades, it was inevitable that men of great learning, as Albertus Magnus, or of inventive insight, as Roger Bacon, two famous scholastics of the thirteenth century, should gain the reputation of magicians.

Just as the legends of Apollonius and Pythagoras, of Simon Magus and Cyprian, display the characteristics of their respective ages, so the Magus legend of the middle ages is also an expression of its period. In the diabolical characterization of the *magus* we recognize the distinctive mark of the Christian faith; the fact that it is possible to save a *magus*, together with the manner of his salvation, reveals the character of the theocratic belief.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHRISTIAN MAGUS LEGEND OF THE NEW EPOCH.

I. RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION.

1. The Diabolical and Tragical Character.

IN the century which, in the history of the Christian era and the civilization of the West, separates the old epoch from the new, the Magus legend undergoes a most peculiar transformation, which was adapted to the character and tendencies of the time. The Renaissance, the rebirth of ancient learning, is closely connected with the Reformation, the rebirth of Christianity. It is the former which paves the way from the middle ages to modern times, from Dante to Luther. The fundamental view of the Old Catholic Church; the primary tendency of the Reformation, which was directed against the belief in the power of good works to make holy; and the belief in the power of magic, which awoke with the

revival of learning, pervaded the Magus legend of the sixteenth century; for this legend displays the character of an age in which the Old Catholic faith, the Reformation of the Church, and the Renaissance, are united.

In accordance with the Christian fundamental view, magic retains its diabolical character; it is still regarded as an hellish art which the devil imparts if one is willing to become enslaved to him: in so far, the old conception remains in force. But just here the sentiment of the Protestant faith brings about a transformation in the Magus legend and the popular belief belonging thereto. All kinds of magic are looked upon as being of a diabolical nature; the miraculous power of works performed in honor of the Church is classed under magic. If by any good deed divine grace could be drawn down and made use of, occult forces must be at work and the devil must give his assistance. The belief in the magic heretofore approved by the Church is now considered opposed to Christian principles. Just as the popular Protestant belief of this period looked upon the pope as the Antichrist, and the papal belief as a demoniac corruption of Christianity, so popular tradition gives magic a character inimical to the Church and abusive

of its name. It makes the ungodly *magus* to perform works of magic as approved by the Church, and to find in the Vatican one of his class; it also makes the spirit of hell to appear as a monk, and, as if to combine these satiric features in one, the devil is made to take the guise of the pope and to play before the sultan in Constantinople the character of the prophet Mohammed. But the chief point is that the poetical character of the legend is fundamentally changed. The magical power of good works is no longer taken as the remedy for the sin of base magic, but, on the contrary, it appears upon the same footing as the latter, and is itself considered godless. The magical antidote, the protecting and saving power, which, at the very last moment, could step in between the sinner and Satan, is now gone. He who has once surrendered himself to magic and the devil falls an irretrievable victim to hell, and after the time set has expired the devil will surely come for him. Here is the difference between the Magus legend of the middle ages and that of Protestant times. In the former, the motto is: "All is well that ends well." In the latter, on the other hand, there can be no other result than a tragical and appalling death, and this

in the most forcible form, such as would make a deep impression upon the popular imagination. Thus the Magus legend of the sixteenth century combines the tragic with the diabolical character, and is thus fitted to furnish the materials for a thrilling popular drama.

2. Theosophical Views: Magic and Mysticism.

With the revival of ancient learning, the ancient beliefs—the religion and philosophy of the Greeks—awoke. It was in reality a rebirth. The last Greek school of philosophy—the Platonic school of Athens—which, once more in arms against Christianity, had mobilized, as it were, all the gods of the heathen world, and drawn them up as an army in rank and file, as if it thought to conquer by reason of its superior numbers, had gone down under the decree of Justinian. After nine centuries have elapsed it rises again under Cosmo de' Medici in the Platonic Academy at Florence. The first impulse toward a new philosophy begins where the old philosophy ended, namely, with the idea that the world is an emanation from the Deity, and that the fullness of divine forces descends in continuous succession from the heavenly spheres to the earthly, and that it returns in purified human souls to celestial

realms. In this deification of the world, with its religious tendencies, Greek philosophy had taken its final stand, and had turned away from Christianity and the Christianized world. It was separated, as the bride of Corinth:

“Wenn der Funke sprüht,
Wenn die Asche glüht,
Eilen wir den alten Göttern zu!”

In the same form in which the old philosophy had sunk into its grave, there stirs, after a sleep of almost a thousand years, the first impulse toward a new perception of the world and nature; and a repugnance begins to be felt for scholasticism, which is thought to be unproductive of results and to have outlived its day. Many a chrysalis must needs be stripped off and many a covering broken before science in the mature form of actual research can appear.

The view according to which nature is thought to contain the secret of the existence of the Deity is called theosophy. Here nature does not appear as the subject of research methodically undertaken, but, on the contrary, as a mystery, for which the word of solution is sought—as a book, closed to mortal sense,

in order to understand the characters of which a key as mysterious as the book itself is necessary. Therefore, this mode of thinking yearns for a mystery-solving cabula, and there comes a time in the Renaissance period when the Jewish cabalistic books, which pretend to have received by divine revelations of remote times the solution sought, are called to aid and believingly read, as, for instance, by the Italian Platonist, Pico della Mirandola, and the German humanist, Johann Reuchlin.

The theosophic mind is allured with increasing power by the image of nature, and loses itself with greater eagerness in its contemplation, expectingly watching for an opportunity to wrest from it its great secret and reveal the divine forces concealed therein. If the theosophist succeeds in revealing these forces and can enlist them in his service, he is a "master of spirits," a *magus*. In this magic the age believes:

"The spirit-world no closures fasten;
Thy sense is shut, thy heart is dead:
Disciple, up! untiring, hasten
To bathe thy breast in morning-red!"*)

*) "Die Geisterwelt ist nicht verschlossen:
Dein Sinn ist zu, dein Herz ist todt!
Auf! bade, Schüler, unverdrossen.
Die ird'sche Brust im Morgenroth!"

These verses from Goethe's *Faust* lived in the thoughts and feelings of the people of the sixteenth century. The view of the world upon which they are based and which dates from the Renaissance cannot be better expressed, or with greater imaginative power, than by the words of *Faust* when he opens the mago-cabalistic book, and perceives the sign of the macrocosm:

"How each the Whole its substance gives,
Each in the other works and lives!
Like heavenly forces rising and descending,
Their golden urns reciprocally lending,
With wings that winnow blessing
From Heaven through Earth I see them pressing,
Filling the All with harmony unceasing!
How grand a show!"*)

In the course of development from theosophy to natural philosophy and the science of nature we find magic as a phase corresponding to the time. Its representative is one of the most restless quixotic characters, in which the sixteenth century abounds—*Agrippa von*

*) "Wie alles sich zum Ganzen webt,
Eins in dem andern wirkt und lebt!
Wie Himmelskräfte auf und nieder steigen
Und sich die goldenen Eimer reichen,
Mit segenduftenden Schwingen
Vom Himmel durch die Erde dringen,
Harmonisch all' das All durchklingen!
Welch Schauspiel!"

Nettesheim. The tendency and province of this magic are apparent, fantastic though they may be. Its purpose is to look into the heart of nature, reveal hidden forces, break through the covering veil, remove all hindrances, and banish opposing influences. In order to attain to this end, it must itself lay hold of the work. It must operate with bodies with the purpose in view of producing bodies. It becomes magical chemistry and magical healing art. Its manner of operating is through experiments, but not methodical experiments; its aim is invention, but not systematic invention. It is still bent upon two great discoveries: how to make gold and how to restore life—the philosopher's stone and the panacea. This magic, which imposed upon itself a test which it could not stand, sees the character of the age embodied in Paracelsus, the performer of remarkable cures.

However, I must not leave unnoticed the more distant goal toward which this magical view of the world tends. If divine life is present and active in natural phenomena, it can be nowhere grasped and perceived more directly than in the depth of our own inner nature; but even here the veil must be lifted which surrounds and obscures the divine life-

spark within us; and the chemist's art, also, is necessary in order to extract the opposing and foreign matter, remove the obstructions and clean the gold of the soul from the dross of the appetites and passions, which entangle us in the things of this world and cause us, as a deep thinker of this time has said, to become smitten with creation. There is for believers in theosophy a way which leads direct to God. The line it takes is through the human heart: it demands deep self-contemplation; silent introspection; a turning away from the appetites; sincere, meditative, and profound piety, by means of all which we become what we in the very depth of the origin of our being are: this way does not lie in the direction of magic, but of mysticism. Both are forms of theosophy, which seeks the way to God through the mysteries of things. Magic pursues the way through external nature, and mysticism chooses its course through the inner nature. The former desires to break through the veil which covers the material world, the latter breaks through the selfishness of the human heart, and reveals in divine love the secret of all secrets. Paracelsus took the first way: Jacob Böhme the second, but following in the footsteps of Paracelsus. If nature attains

its highest perfection within the soul of man, there is also inherent in magic an impulse which finds in mysticism its goal and its solution.

This magic and this mysticism bear the same relation to each other as the beginning and the end of Goethe's *Faust*. The *magus* in the beginning of the poem stands enraptured before the image of the macrocosm:

"How each the Whole its substance gives,
Each in the other works and lives!
How grand a show!"

And impatient he continues:

"But, ah! a show alone.
Thee, boundless Nature, how make thee my own?"*)

The *Chorus Mysticus* at the close of the poem solves the mystery. It sees in divine love the revealed mystery, symbolically represented in the *Mater Gloriosa* as she appears to the Church mysticism of the middle ages in the poetry of the Franciscans:

"All things transitory
But as symbols are sent:
Earth's insufficiency
Here grows to Event:

*) "Aber ach! ein Schauspiel nur!
Wo fass' ich dich, unendliche Natur?"

"The Indescribable,
Here it is done:
The Woman-Soul leadeth us
Upward and on!"*)

3. The Idea of the Helena.

There is still another feature which the Magus legend of the sixteenth century must, of necessity, bring out—one which, owing to the fact that it dates its origin from the Renaissance period, was closely connected with this legend, and corresponded, as well, to the needs of the popular imagination of the time. What could this period, which was so deeply agitated by the spirit of the Renaissance, and whose representatives were Erasmus and Reuchlin, welcome more, esteem more desirable, and find more in accordance with its imagination, than to see the characters of revived antiquity in flesh and blood reality, as it were. The magic of the sixteenth century united with the spirit of the Renaissance fulfills this desire; it overcomes hell, and calls to hades: "Open, sesame." It makes the shades of the Greek world ascend to the abode of the living. Thus, Faust conjures up in the

*) "Alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichniss,
Das Unzulängliche, hier wird's Ereigniss,
Das Unbeschreibliche, hier ist's gethan,
Das ewig Weibliche zieht uns hinan."

presence of the emperor the forms of Alexander the Great and his consort; he makes the heroes of the Iliad and the Odyssey to appear before the students of Erfurt, and finally—the greatest of his deeds—his magical word of command brings the Greek Helena to the upper world. The magical power of beauty vanquishes the *magus*. In transports at the sight of the most beautiful woman in the world, and overpowered by passion and love, he marries the shade of the Greek heroine. The character of the popular legend may be seen from the manner in which it represents the union of Faust with the Helena. This power over the realm of the dead, this possession of the most beautiful woman, and this marriage to a pagan, the popular legend regards as the greatest work of all magic, as the highest of all pleasures, and as the most godless of all crimes. But after the Helena comes hell. The marriage to the Helena forms in Goethe's Faust the main theme of the second part, the composition of which must be seen and judged from this point of view. Conformably to the sentiment of the age, which was illumined by Winckelmann and preceded by Lessing, and in accordance with the development of his own genius, which very early showed

an affinity for the Greek mind and which had experienced in Italy an awakened love of art, Goethe, of necessity, conceived of and used the idea of the marriage of the *magus* to the Helena quite differently from the popular legend, which, though affected by the Renaissance, was still under the influence of the Church. He did not think of Faust's marriage to the Greek heroine—the love of the *magus* for Greek beauty—as taking place hard by the abyss leading to hell, but rather on the highway leading to purification. Dating from the old puppet-play, the apparition of the Helena had taken a deep and lasting hold on him; and he has designated the marriage of Faust to the Helena—the main theme of the second part of his poem—as one of the “oldest conceptions.”

II. THE FUNDAMENTAL FEATURES OF THE MODERN MAGUS LEGEND.

The Magus legend of the sixteenth century, as brought out in the Faust legend, unites in the person of its hero the Titanic, the diabolical, and the tragic character. It consigns magic irretrievably to hell's abyss, and, at the same time, lifts it to the summit of the human mind and human aspirations. The first

feature takes its origin from the rebirth of Christianity, the Protestant popular belief. The second feature springs from the revival of ancient learning, the Renaissance, which, as no other age in the world's history, has experienced, possessed, and admired, the might of the individual, the power of human strength, and the personal magic of man.

There is an elective attraction between ages, also. The storm and stress which arose in Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century—an intellectual storm of the most powerful nature—exercised an involuntary power of attraction upon the German “Storm and Stress” period which agitated our literature at the close of the last century and lifted it up to a level with the world's best literature. “Force! force!” was the rallying-cry of those days. Should it, then, excite wonder that in the greatest genius of this time, who possessed this force as no one else—that in the imagination of Goethe, the German heroes, as the knight of the Peasants' War, and the *magus* of the popular legend, rise with the dawn of a new epoch and are reanimated? The Faust legend meets the need of poetical expression and the feeling of power of just this poet, whose mind it finds prepared by nature to

receive it, and becomes here a neighbor to the plans which occupy his imagination, the history of Götz of Berlichingen, and the myth of Prometheus:

“Hier sitz' ich, forme Menschen
Nach meinem Bilde,
Ein Geschlecht, das mir gleich sei!”

CHAPTER V.

THE GROWTH OF THE FAUST LEGEND.

I. THE HISTORICAL FAUST.

MANY elements of the Faust legend have been involuntarily brought into the foregoing account. In this legend various features of the Magus legend were collected from their scattered condition and compressed into a picture which became indelibly impressed upon the imagination of our people. The Magus legend has now reached its complete development; the story of Faust is its latest, most popular, and most current form, which, with manifold variations, according to the time and place, wanders through the countries of Europe. It is always adapted to the spirit of the ages, and from the modifications of the latter it goes forth in its modern form as the subject of the most powerful German poem. We must follow the development of the legend from its origin up to this time, in order

that we may know what was the manner of growth of Goethe's Faust. In following the natural order, we must first consider Faust as an historical personage, then as a mythical figure or legendary creation, and finally as the subject of popular literature and poetry.

The historical person furnishes us the point of departure. From the very fact that magic was held in such high authority in the sixteenth century, and that it took the form of a current tendency, it may be presumed that the hero of the most popular Magus legend which the age produced actually existed. The characters which it represents are wildly romantic, agitated by the impelling desire of the time for innovation, and ranging in the unbeaten path, as magic itself. The man of intellect mingles here with the charlatan, and the genius with the juggler. Delight is taken in the applause and admiration of the credulous multitude, which is soon fascinated by the performance of deeds of magic and by vain promises, and is always ready to have its craze for wonders gratified. Hence the wandering life which these modern magicians lead, roaming, as they do, from inn to inn, and from country to country. Thus they acquire popular fame, and carry their personal renown

far and wide among the people. This gay throng of adventurous characters varies in education and culture from those who have enjoyed all that their time has to offer down to the tumult of errant scholastics and jugglers: Many pass from the memory of the people unnoticed and nameless; but one who combines in his person the characteristics of popular magic, and represents the same in his life, leaves a powerful and lasting impression upon the minds of the people. With his name and deeds the *Volkssage*, or popular legend, together with the tradition, is associated. He is not a noted historical personage whose memory is preserved by science, as Agrippa and Paracelsus, yet, as regards originality, he is a man of similar nature, but still more adventurous in his mode of living, more at home among the lower classes of the people, and, therefore, more popular—a man in whom the genius and the mountebank, the lofty and the low features of the magic of the time, are combined. The less his historical importance is, the better he is adapted for the legend.

1. The Wittenberg Tradition.

The name of this person was Faust; or, at least, he so called himself. According to a

statement attributed to Melanchthon, which his pupil, Johann Mennell of Ansbach, has published,*) "Johann Faust of Kundling," a place near Bretten, was the countryman and contemporary of the reformer. It would seem, he studied magic in Cracow, led a wandering life as a juggler, spending some time in Wittenberg. While here he boasted that the victories of the Imperial army in Italy were due to his magic arts, and barely escaped the warrant for his arrest issued by "Duke John" by fleeing to Nuremberg. In Venice, it is further stated, he tried to fly to heaven; and was, in fact, carried up into the air by the devil, but was then thrown to the earth, being very nearly killed. The devil in the form of a dog accompanied him, also, as he had Agrippa von Nettesheim.

"Kundling" as the name of a place, since it does not exist, probably arose through our informant's misunderstanding of "Knittlingen," there being such a town. Then again, Melanchthon probably did not speak of a duke, but of the elector Johann der Beständige, who ruled from 1525-1532. Since the

*) Joh. Manlius: *Locorum communium collectanea*. (Bas. 1562.)

victories of the Imperial forces in Italy—the battle of Pavia and the capture of Rome—occur in 1525 and 1527, Faust, whose boasts presuppose these events, must have lived in Wittenberg at the time the diets of Speyer and Augsburg were held.

It is also said that the noted Doctor Faust spent the years from 1516 to 1525 with the abbot of the cloister of Maulbronn (near Bretten), Johann Entenfuss, a friend of his youth. The Faust kitchen and the Faust tower recall to this day his stay there.

The later accounts of Johann Wier, Augustin Lercheimer, and Philip Camerarius, are dependent upon Mennell and his authority.

Wier (Weiher), of Graeve on the Meuse, private physician to the duke William of Cleve, mentions in his books on "The Illusions of Demons"*) also "Johann Faust of Kundling," who had learned magic in Cracow and practiced it in various places in Germany previous to the year 1540. At last (so the people say) the devil strangled him at night in a Würtemberg village, and he was found the next morning with his neck twisted half way round. With empty boasts and promises this

*) De præstigiis dæmonum (Lib. II., Ed. IV., 1658).

"*Faustus magus vel verius infaustus malus*" was able to accomplish all things. Wier asserts that he knows people who have served as butts for his malicious tricks and raillery.

Lercheimer of Steinfeld, a pupil of Melanchthon, in his work "Christian Scruples and Recollections of Magic" (1585)*) makes "Johann Faust of Knütlingen" to appear as a member of a crowd which he denounces as "low knaves of jugglers." The enchantment of a boy in an inn who had overfilled Faust's glass when drinking, the aeronautic journey to Salzburg, and the tricks which are there played upon the cellarist, Lercheimer relates in all faith. Aside from this, his portrayal bears the stamp of the Lutheran tendency. That Faust was permitted to live in Wittenberg during the time of Luther and Melanchthon "was owing to the hope felt that he might become converted to the doctrine which was there in the ascendancy, and reform." Since this did not come about, and others were misled by him, one of whom Lercheimer himself meets, the prince desired his arrest. However, against the men of God

*) "Christlich Bedenken und Erinnerung von Zauberei."

in Wittenberg he was powerless. Whenever he came to Melanchthon the latter admonished him earnestly, and warned him of his approaching doom. Once "the lewd, devilish rascal" even threatened to play a trick on Herrn Philippus, but was roughly dispatched, and no doubt thought better of it. Upon another occasion, a simple, pious man had so angered Faust by attempting to convert him that he sent out of revenge the ghost of a devil to his would-be converter's bed-chamber. But the fear of God knows no fear of the devil; the evil spirit was received with contempt, and sent back home. And when Faust desired, of his own accord, to be converted, it was also in vain; the devil at once compelled him to make a second conveyance, and, after his twenty-four years of service were completed, he killed him in an horrible manner. Magic arts are powerless against God and His own; the conversion of the magician was also impossible with the devil opposed. Melanchthon the *magus* dares not molest; the simple, god-fearing man he cannot frighten. His own fit of repentance is of no help to him. Thus the Lutheran belief shapes the history of Faust according to its conceptions. By such examples Lercheimer proved his "Christian Scru-

ples and Recollections of Magic." Faust becomes the hero of the Lutheran Magus legend, and as this legend is further developed it is more closely and more firmly associated with Wittenberg. Lercheimer, moreover, when comparing Faust's unhappy aeronautic journey in Venice with that of Simon Magus, ought not to say that the devil threw down the latter; for his fall was brought about by the word of Peter.

The Nuremberg town-councillor, Philip Camerarius, whose father was Melanchthon's friend and biographer, mentions under date of 1602 "Johann Faust of Kundling," as being the most popular of all magicians. "Among the common people," he says, "one can scarcely find any one who has not some story or other to tell of him." He also states that he has heard people speak of Faust who knew him personally.*)

Neither in Melanchthon's nor in Luther's writings is there any thing concerning Faust; nor does Luther himself mention Faust in his "Table Talk," but only remarks, when another speaks of the *magus*, that the devil

*) *Operæ horarum subcisivarum*, etc., Francof., 1602. Cf. J. Camerarius' letter to Daniel Stibarius (Aug., 1536), Goethe Jahrbuch, vol. X., p. 256 *et seq.*

and his magicians would accomplish nothing against him. The Wittenberg tradition of Faust is based, it would seem, upon a narration of Melanchthon, which Mennell committed to writing and has thus handed down. It must be left undecided whether he ever heard such a story, and, if he did, whether he has given it to us as he heard it. In the matriculation book of the University of Wittenberg we find the name of a Johann Faust of Mühlberg enrolled the 18th of January, 1518.

2. The Tradition of the Upper Rhine.

Konrad Gessner, a physician of Zürich, and Ludwig Lavater, a pastor of the Reformed Church in the same city, have made mention of Faust—the former in one of his "*Epistolæ Medicinales*" dated August 16th, 1561; the latter in his writing "*De Spectris*" (1570). Gessner writes that among the wandering scholastics and conjurers of devils, Faust, who had recently died, was the most famous. Lavater calls this "*Faustus Germanus*" one of the most villainous magicians. The Zimmern Chronicle (1560) speaks of Faust in the same manner; it states that his deeds of magic had left in German countries an impression never to be forgotten; and that

he died, old and wretched, in or near Staufen, in Breisach, put to death by the devil, as many believe. If his end falls before the middle of the century, as it appears from the words of the Chronicle, he was probably twenty years older than Melanchthon.

With these chronological data agree the statements of Philip Begardi, a physician of Worms, as given in his "*Gesundheitszeiger*" (1539), and the account of Johann Gast, a pastor of Basel, as found in his "Table Talk" (1548). The former has not heard, as yet, of Faust's death; while the latter, who has seen the magician in person and dined with him once in the *Collegium* at Basel, assures us that the devil has already strangled Faust and that the corpse, if its position be changed, always turns the face downward again. Some rare birds which Faust gave, at the said dinner, to the cook to prepare, our informant thinks were works of magic. The dog and the horse that accompanied Faust were devils in disguise who were in his service. Sometimes, he says, the dog assumed human shape in order to wait at the table.

If the mind of a Protestant clergyman in the middle of the sixteenth century was so clouded by dense superstition as that of the

good Johann Gast of Basel, it must have been at that time very easy for such a man as Faust to impress the imagination of the rabble with the career of an incomparable magician.

Begardi, who speaks unrestrainedly, relates that some years previous this same Faust, who gave himself the title of "*Philosophus philosophorum*," had traveled far and wide through different countries, playing the part of a prophet and worker of wonderful cures; he had boasted great things, but performed little; had deceived many people; and, as soon as their money was in his possession, he had decamped. A great many of those who had been cheated complained of their treatment to Begardi, who compares the fame of Faust with that of Paracelsus.

The accounts so far given date from a much later period than the beginning of the Lutheran Reformation, and, if examined carefully, will all be found to refer to the same person, who, according to Melancthon and Mennell, lived in Wittenberg at the time of the diets of Speyer and Augsburg.

3. The Accounts from Würzburg and Erfurt.

The two earliest accounts of a magician who called himself Faust date from the begin-

ning of the century, at which time humanistic ideas were in full ascendancy in Germany, while the Reformation of Luther had not yet begun. Both authorities are men well-known, and write from actual personal experience. One is Johann Tritheim, formerly *abbé* at Sponheim, but, at the time he writes, *prieur claustral* at the convent of St. Jacob in Würzburg—a man who afterward was himself reported to be a magician. The other is a canon, Konrad Mudt (Mutianus Rufus) of Gotha, one of the first humanists of the age, and of the same circle as Reuchlin, Erasmus, Ulrich von Hutten, Eoban Hesse, Crotus Rubianus, and others.

In a letter dated August 20th, 1507, Johann Tritheim answers the inquiries of the mathematician, Johann Virdung of Hasfurt, concerning a magician whose arrival he is eagerly awaiting. This magician called himself "*Georgius Sabellicus*," "*Faustus Junior*," and "*Magus Secundus*;" he boasted that he was the chief and fountain-head of all magicians—astrologer, and master of all kinds of prophecy. As Tritheim was returning, the year before, from the march of Brandenburg, he had met this man in Gelnhausen. However, he made off at once when he heard of the

arrival of the *abbé*. In Gelnhausen he had boasted that, if all the works of Plato and Aristotle were to be lost, he would, by means of his own mental power, restore them in a condition more complete and better than before. Soon after this, he was so presumptuous as to offer, before a large crowd in Würzburg, to perform the miracles of Christ when and as often as anyone might wish. Toward Easter, 1507, he came to Kreuznach, where he gave himself out to be the most perfect alchemist who had ever lived. He declared himself possessed of the art of fulfilling all human desires. Franz von Sickingen, himself a zealous lover of magic, gave him the just vacated position of a school-master, which the *magus* criminally misused. Convicted of sodomy, he only escaped deserved punishment by a hasty flight. "This is what I can tell you with actual certainty of the man whom you are so anxiously expecting. You will not find in him a philosopher, but rather a vain and bold fool. This blackguard and seducer ought to be scourged in order to put a stop to his criminal boasts, which are hostile to the Church." Whether, after receiving such information, the mathematician of Hasfurt, who was one of Sickingen's confidential advisers, still de-

sired the visit of the magician, we do not know; it is hardly probable that he received him.

Some years later, when Reuchlin's controversy with the monks was the foremost intellectual question of the time, Mudt became acquainted with the very man who had aroused Trithem's violent wrath; it was in Erfurt that he met him, and the time was the latter part of September, 1513. He did not allow himself to show his anger, nor did he enter into any conversation with the fellow. In a letter of October 3d he describes him as an empty and frivolous boaster, of the class of fortune-tellers. "The rabble admires such people. Let the theologians take the field against a man of this sort; for against our Capnio (Reuchlin) they will accomplish nothing. I heard the man prate in an inn without upbraiding him for his boasting. What does the nonsense of others concern me?" This man called himself, as Mudt writes: "*Georgius Faustus Hemitheus Hedebergensis*." If, instead of the last two words, we may read "*Hemitheus Hedelbergensis*," the title he gave himself would be "The Demi-god of Heidelberg." According to the Heidelberg matriculation book "*Johannes Fust de Symmern Moguntinensis dyoeceseos*" was enrolled in the philosophical faculty on

the 3d of December, 1505, and received on the 15th of January, 1510, as the first (oldest) of fourteen students, the degree of *baccalaureus*.*) If this is the same person who spent some time in Erfurt three years later, the Heidelberg *baccalaureus* probably took, in the mean time, the degree of "*hemitheus*," and from Mudt's description of him this would seem to be the case.

4. The Leipsic Tradition.

In Auerbach's Cellar, in Leipsic, there are, as everyone knows, two old pictures bearing the date 1525, which portray scenes from the history of Doctor Faust—a carouse with students, and his ride upon the wine-cask. Under the date are the following verses:

Doctor Faust in this same year
Rode forth from Auerbach's Cellar here,
Astride of a wine-cask making his way;
Many a man saw him go as we say.
This was accomplished by his subtle power,
And he received therefrom the devil's dower.†)

*) Johann Fust of Simmern, in the diocese of Mentz. *Matricula Heidelb.* (ed. Toepke) I. 457, II. 153 *et seq.*

†) "Doctor Faust zu dieser Frist
Aus Auerbach's Keller geritten ist
Auf einem Fass mit Wein geschwind,
Welches gesehen viel Mutterkind.
Solches durch seine subtile Kraft gethan
Und des Teufels Lohn empfangen davon."

Since this subscription, and probably the origin of the pictures, as well, presuppose the death of the magician, the year 1525 would seem to indicate the time when this magic ride is supposed to have taken place and Faust was staying in Leipsic, as, according to Vogel's Leipsic Annals (1714), "the common legend" relates. Heinrich Stromer, the physician of Auerbach, in Bavaria, did not build the *Hof* which bears his name until 1530. Sixty years later, in an enlarged edition of the oldest Faust book (1590), mention is made of the ride on the wine-cask, in Leipsic; but neither the date, nor Auerbach's Cellar as the place, are named. It is the same in the later chap-books (*Volksbücher*) which appeared in 1599, 1674, and 1728. Widman places the beginning of Faust's tour of the world, and the time of his appearance before the public, in the year 1525, but does not designate Leipsic as the scene. From this it may be readily seen that a later combination has associated the magic tale of the Leipsic ride with the year 1525 and located the same in Auerbach's Cellar, from which fact we obtain the first explanation as to the origin of the pictures that are found there. Therefore, Faust's stay in Leipsic has, as his wonderful ride

itself, not an historical but a legendary character.

When a student in Leipsic, Goethe saw these old pictures, and makes Faust's tour of the world to begin with the scene in Auerbach's Cellar.

II. THE CRITICAL QUESTION: HISTORICAL OR MYTHICAL?

It is evident that the two magicians of whom Tritheim and Mudt give accounts are the same person. There is also nothing in the chronological data, nor in the described traits of character, which would prevent us from considering George Faust of unknown origin and Johann Faust of Knittlingen as identical. We may presume that this man was born about 1480 and died soon after 1540; that he led for forty years the restless and adventurous life of an errant scholastic and juggler; and that it was in the interest of his profession and boasting, especially in the beginning of his tour of the world, to appear under different names. He may have changed his Christian name; called himself Faustus, signifying fortunate; preferred the descent from the old people of magicians, the Sabines, to his Knittlingen origin,

and therefore assumed the surname "*Sabellicus*."

"The Sabine old, the Norcian necromancer,
Thy true and worthy servant, sends thee answer,"*)

Goethe makes Faust to say to the emperor, when he calls up before him the "Three Mighty Men."

I. J. G. Neumann.

After the Faust legend had passed through the chief forms of its development in the chap-books, there arose, almost a century after the appearance of the oldest Faust book, the question as to the historical nucleus of the legend. The person of Faust was so closely connected with Wittenberg by the Melanchthon-Mennel tradition, and the Lutheran tendency of the legend and chap-books, that the question was first taken up here. It was doubted by some whether Mennel's story could be substantiated by facts, and whether the hero of the Faust legend had ever lived. This induced Johann Georg Neumann, a professor of theology in Wittenberg, to subject the matter to

*) "Der Nekromant von Norcia,
Der Sabiner, ist dein getreuer, ehrenhafter Diener."
Faust, Part II., Act IV., verses 401-402. (Loeper's ed.).

an historical investigation, the result of which is as follows: The real Faust was a wandering juggler, who, were it not for the popular dramas, would have remained in obscurity. His existence in Wittenberg, as described by the chap-books, is a mere fiction. There has never been a citizen by the name of Faust in Wittenberg. Certain topographical data seem to justify the supposition that Wittenberg has been confounded with Würtemberg. Neither in Luther's "Table Talk," nor in Melancthon's or Peucker's writings, is there anything about Faust. Some believe that such a sorcerer never lived at all—indeed, that the whole "*roman magique*" which bears his name is to be explained by the fact that the printer, Johann Faust (Fust) in Mentz, through the reports of the monks, came to be suspected of being a magician.*)

2. K. Simrock and E. Sommer.

Among the several accounts of Faust, Neumann was acquainted with none older than the story of Mennel. He overlooked the fact that this story is supposed to be taken

*) *Disquisitio historica de Fausto præstigiatore* (1683). German: J. G. Neumann's *curieuse Betrachtungen des sogenannten D. Fausten's* (1702).

from the mouth of Melanchthon, and did not, therefore, discuss the question as to whether the Wittenberg tradition really proceeds from Melanchthon, or not. The accounts of Tritheim and Mudt were unknown to him; while it is upon the nature of these very accounts, especially that of the Würzburg abbot, that the opinion in our own time is based that the wandering juggler, Johann Faust of Knittlingen, existed, to be sure, but is not to be regarded as the hero of the legend; that, moreover, the hero is to be taken by no means historically, but solely mythically.

Georgius Sabellicus, of whom Tritheim gives an account, called himself "*Faustus junior, magus secundus*." There was, then, it would seem, an elder Faust, who served the younger as a prototype, and a first magician, who was the pattern for the second and who continued to live in the legend.

This elder Faust, according to K. Simrock, was Johann Fust, the printer of Mentz, the inventor of movable type, and thus the actual inventor of the art of printing, to whom, as early as Neumann's time, many thought to trace the Faust legend. Simrock further asserts that also one of the puppet-plays of Doctor Faust, the scene of which is chiefly

laid in Mentz and which is perhaps founded upon a German drama of the sixteenth century, points to such an origin.*)

The first magician, who served as a prototype, was, according to E. Sommer, Simon Magus, and from him he believes that also the idea of the Helena in the Faust legend proceeds. The Greek heroine has, however, he states, taken many of her traits and aspects from the legends of gods and elves, as he thinks is apparent from Grimm's "German Mythology."†)

Among the Faust compositions M. Klinger's novel (1791) is the only one which has taken the printer as its hero.

Since the legend, the chap-books, and the dramatic compositions of Faust deal neither with Simon Magus and his Helena, nor the printer of Mentz, these two suppositions (one of which, Simrock's, is probably forever discarded) have brought forth nothing which leads to a better understanding of the matter, or even to an explanation of Goethe's Faust. The Faust legend arose from historical data,

*) K. Simrock: Versuch über den Ursprung der Faustsage, p. 207 *et seq.* (Second ed., Frankfurt-on-the-Main, 1877.)

†) Ersch und Gruber: Allg. Encykl. der Wissenschaften und Künste. I. Th. 41, pp. 93-118.

from features of Magus legends which already existed, and from prevailing tendencies of the time. It was first written down and believed as a marvelous tale, then explained as a story quite within the bounds of natural events, and finally comprehended as a fiction formed and developed by the past generations. And so the ideas respecting the history of Doctor Faust have also passed through these three periods: the believing, the naturalistic, and the mythical.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CHAP-BOOKS, OR VOLKS- BÜCHER.

A. THE OLDEST FAUST BOOK.

I. THE GROWTH OF THE CHAP-BOOKS.

THE historical person of Johann Faust becomes, even while living, a subject of popular and superstitious report, which is the beginning of the legendary creation. In the second half of the sixteenth century the legend grows, adopts various incidents which are related of other magicians, and thus acquires the character of a collective legend (*Sammelsage*). Faust becomes the favorite hero of the Magus legend, and of him enough cannot be heard and told to satisfy the popular imagination. At the same time the religious questions of the period exert a formative influence upon the legend and impress upon it its peculiar stamp. Faust is an apostate from Lutheranism, bound by written contract to the devil, an irretrievable victim of hell, and a man deserv-

ing of both curses and pity. His views and his adventures should be a warning to all good Christians. He is the magician whom the Lutheran doctrine regards as the diabolical antitype of itself and master. Thus the Faust legend becomes a Lutheran Magus legend, and acquires a unique significance. Accordingly, Wittenberg no longer appears in the chap-books as a temporary biding-place, but rather as the adopted home of this anti-Lutheran magician. Here he has a relative living, who provides for his education and makes him his heir; here he attends school and finally enters the university, in which he becomes later a teacher, and settles down as a permanent citizen. Even the lane and the house where he lived are pointed out. However, he cannot have learned magic in Wittenberg, but only in places where the Lutheran doctrine was unknown, or which were hostile to it. According to one of the chap-books it was in Cracow that he studied magic arts, according to another, Ingolstadt. Lutheranism had broken with the Calvinistic confession, and in its polemic attacks it already savored of the seventeenth century when the story of Faust in its literary form arose under its influence.

II. THE OLDEST FAUST BOOK.**I. The Deflection from God and the Compact
with the Devil.**

Such an important legend, equally valuable on account of its popular interest and its influence upon the popular mind, needed to be written down, so as to be preserved in a literary form. This need was supplied by the chap-books, which have handed down the history of Faust to the memory of the world. The oldest of these books, the author of which is unknown, appeared in Goethe's native town at the time of the autumn fair (*Herbstmesse*) in 1587. It was published by the printer, Johann Spies, who alleged he had received the manuscript from a friend in Speyer. He says that for many years the common and great legend of Faust had been wide-spread, and that everywhere, in social gatherings and at banquets, this legend is inquired after and its publication in printed form desired. The title shows what the book contains and what its purpose is: "History of Dr. Johann Faust, the notorious sorcerer and black-artist: How he bound himself to the devil for a certain time: What singular adventures befell him therein, what he did and carried on until finally he

received his well-deserved pay. Mostly from his own posthumous writings; for all presumptuous, rash and godless men, as a terrible example, abominable instance and well-meant warning, collected and put in print. James iv. 7, 'Submit yourselves therefore to God: resist the devil and he will flee from you.'"

How lively, at this time, was the interest in the history of Faust, and how great the desire to have it printed, is evident from the warm reception and ready sale which the Frankfort chap-book met with within a short time. As early as the following year there appeared in Tübingen a rhymed adaptation and a Low German translation. Soon new editions became necessary, which differ only as regards omissions and additions; among others, the Berlin edition of the year 1590 is of special importance, owing to the fact that it contains an account of the Leipsic ride on the wine-cask, as well as five Erfurt stories. Through translations the Faust book became known in Holland, England, and France. In the year 1593 there appeared as a sequel to the story of Faust an account of the life of his *famulus*, Christoph Wagner, who had been introduced into the narrative of the Frankfort chap-book

and there described as an "audacious glutton, and a vicious vagabond," whom Faust took into his home, educated as his pupil, and finally made his heir.

The Frankfort Faust book was the first stroke toward the creation of Faust literature, which soon brought forth a poem that, with dramatic power, broke through the form of story and developed the tragic capacities of the material, thus producing a free and mighty effect. The qualities which we have described as belonging to the Magus legend of the sixteenth century are unmistakably marked in this representation of the Faust legend, namely, the diabolical and tragic character, together with the grand and burlesque features. It already contains the raw material for Goethe's Faust, and awkward though the union of the several parts may be, inconsistent as the course of the narrative often is (for there is no lack of contradictions and stories repeated), crude as is the invention, scholastic and ignorant the conceptions of heavenly and earthly things here described to us—yet, it cannot be denied that there is a lofty tone pervading the whole.

.According to this book Johann Faust was the son of a peasant and lived in Roda, near Weimar. He was sent by his devout parents

to a rich but childless relative in Wittenberg, in order that he might here become a theologian; for he had "a very docile and quick mind, adapted and inclined to study." He soon outstripped his companions, and was the first of sixteen who took the Master's degree. He became later Doctor of Theology. But theology did not satisfy him; for he had also "an irrational and haughty spirit, having always been called the speculator." He was drawn into bad company, and, as a result, he laid the Holy Writ behind the door, under the bench, and betook himself to Cracow, where he became acquainted with works of magic, which he read night and day. He no longer wished to be called a theologian, but became a man of the world, and called himself a Doctor of Medicine, astrologer, and mathematician. He loved what ought not to be loved, and his desires occupied his thoughts night and day. He "took to himself the wings of an eagle, and would explore all the secrets of heaven and earth." One night in the Spesser forest, near Wittenberg, he tried, at a cross-road, the art of conjuring up the devil, which the books on magic had taught him. "At first the devil pretended not to want to answer the call;" then followed multifarious diabolic shapes of a

most horrible and blinding nature, until at last the devil appeared as a gray monk, and gave Faust a rendezvous for the morrow at midnight. Without waiting until midnight, Faust called the demon to his home early the next morning, in order to form a compact with him; but the demon was obliged first to obtain the permission of the master of the lower world; for he himself was only a spirit in the service of hell, Mephostophiles by name.*) Lucifer gives his consent, and the compact is closed. Faust demands the power and form of a spirit, and the fulfillment of all his wishes; further, that Mephistopheles shall serve him, and be ever present, but to him alone visible. In return, the devil requires defection from God, enmity to Christians and their belief, the assurance that Faust would never again be converted, and that he shall make over his soul to him in writing of blood. After twenty-four years this bond is to fall due, when Faust shall belong to the devil. In vain is the warning which appears in letters of blood in the palm of his left hand: "*O homo fuge!*"

*) In the latest of the chap-books he is called Mephistopheles, and he is also so named by Goethe. (Enemy of Light? Enemy of Faust?)

In this compact lies Faust's inextinguishable guilt, whose diabolical and tragic character our chap-book expressly emphasizes, as we may see from the following sentences: "Faust was in his pride and haughtiness so rash that he would give no heed to the salvation of his soul. He thought the devil could not be so black as he is painted, nor hell so hot as is generally supposed." "At this very hour, this godless man proves himself untrue to his God." "This defection is a result of merely his arrogance, despair, temerity, and presumptuousness, as it was with the giants of whom the poets relate, that they planned to pile up the mountains and wage war against God; yes, and as the wicked angel who opposed God and was cast out of heaven on account of his arrogance and insolence. So it is, 'Pride goeth before a fall.'"

The similarity which exists between our *magus* and the Titans cannot be more forcibly felt than is expressed in the passage just quoted. And that his arrogance takes the form of a craving for knowledge is testified to by the compact, which in the oldest chap-book runs thus: "I have proposed to myself the task of speculating on the elements, and

since I, according to the gifts which have been bestowed upon me from above, do not find the skill for this in my own head, and do not wish to learn such things from men, I have surrendered myself to this spirit of hell, and selected him to inform me of and teach me these things." The signature is as follows: "Johann Faustus, one experienced in the elements, and a Doctor of Divinity."

During the first eight years, Faust remains in Wittenberg in the house left him by his relative. He has for company his famulus, Wagner, and Mephistopheles, who always appears in the dress of a Franciscan monk, and wearing a bell, by which he announces his arrival. Conversations and questions upon various subjects, and also illusions which the devil calls up in his presence, fill up the time. Now and then, sublime music thrills him, which means the devil takes to banish every thought of a repentant nature that might possibly steal into Faust's mind, or that had already effected a lodgment there. Such a concert is described to us by the old chap-book with a deep psychological insight into the disposition of Faust's mind which makes him forget his fits of repentance: "He had not a thought but that he

was in heaven, whereas he was still with the devil. This mental state continued fully an hour, so that Faust became stubborn and would not believe that he had ever been penitent." We are at once reminded of the magic song by which Goethe makes Faust to be lulled to sleep:

"Vanish, ye darkling
Arches above him!
Loveliest weather,
Born of blue ether,
Break from the sky.*)

Mephistopheles triumphs thus:

"Enough, ye fays! your airy number
Have sung him truly into slumber:
For this performance I your debtor prove."†)

The "Epicurean life" which Faust now leads, day after day, has the effect which the devil intends. This, also, may be told after the manner of the old chap-book in Goethe's words:

*) "Schwindet, ihr dunkeln
Wölbungen droben!
Reizender schaue
Freundlich der blaue
Aether herein!"

†) "So recht, ihr luftigen zarten Jungen!
Ihr habt ihn treulich eingesungen!
Für dies Konzert bin ich in eurer Schuld."

"The noble indolence I'll teach thee then to treasure,
And soon thou'lt be aware, with keenest thrills of pleasure,
How Cupid stirs and leaps, on light and restless wing."*)

There now arises in Faust's mind the wish to marry; he desires a wife. Mephistopheles uses all means to dissuade him, saying that marriage is of God, unchastity of the devil. But, Faust insisting in his desire, all the horrors of hell are let loose against him. Satan himself appears in his most frightful form and throws him to the earth. Faust now recognizes his desire to be a breach of contract, and he implores forgiveness. He may not take a wife, but he shall have as many of the most beautiful women, and as often, as he desires, Mephistopheles tells him. This promise pleased him so much "that his heart leaped for joy."

That Faust desires wedlock, which the devil hates and forbids, is a feature of peculiar significance in the story of our chap-books; and it is later further developed. It is owing to the still abiding influence of his Lutheran teaching, and views of life as gained from his theological study, that he supposes he may sat-

*) "Den edeln Müßiggang lehr' ich hernach dich schätzen,
Und bald empfindest du mit innigem Ergetzen,
Wie sich Cupido regt und hin und wieder springt."

isfy certain desires only within the bands of wedlock.

The apostate anti-Lutheran magician is denied the privilege of marrying. It is true, the devil ought to have expressly stated this condition in his compact with Faust; possibly he will profit by the experience which the first chap-book makes him to have, and will exercise more forethought in the next. *)

2. The Conversations with Mephistopheles.

Mephistopheles had promised Faust the fulfillment of all desires, which would accordingly include the answering of his questions. The very first questions and disputations (as the chap-book calls these conversations with Mephistopheles which display Faust's eagerness after knowledge) deal with heaven and hell, with the origin of the wicked spirits and of the power of the devil, and with the abode and the torment of the damned. Mephistopheles describes to him the ranks of the angels, and the fall of Lucifer, who was once the archangel Raphael, but on account of his arrogance departed from God, and was cast out. In order to be initiated into such secrets

*) Cf. the following chap., I., 2.

Faust did not need to call upon a spirit of hell, who would himself first have to be instructed by the Areopagite and a sect of the Manichæans, in order to learn from the former the arrangement of the heavenly hierarchy, and from the latter the origin of evil. In Lucifer's guilt and fall Faust saw his own fate foreshadowed; he cursed his birth, and went into his chamber, where he wept bitterly. The description of hell, the tortures of the damned, their everlasting punishment, and the conviction that the devil had completely penetrated his heart and deprived him forever of the grace of God, awakened in him very gloomy thoughts, so that sadness and melancholy overspread his mind. Was Faust not even obliged to hear from the devil that, if he had become a man, and had been in Faust's place, he would never have torn loose from God! This ended the theological discussions, or, as the chap-book calls them, "the godly questions," and the devil refused to give him any further information. The repentance which Faust felt was, as that of Cain and Judas, unreal; for it left him as before, changing nothing in the bottom of his heart. If his melancholy became unendurable, the devil brought him a beautiful woman, who beguiled

the time for him, and scattered the clouds. His was the repentance which "never to heaven goes" and which bears no fruit, as Shakespeare unsurpassably describes in Hamlet the repentance of the king.

Now the conversations on cosmology were in order—the questions concerning the creation and the economy of the world, concerning the course of the stars, the origin of the seasons, and the nature of the elements. Mephistopheles was still a follower of the old school, which knew nothing of Copernicus, and conceived of the universe as being composed of the firmament and the crystal and movable heavenly spheres thereby enclosed. In regard to the perpetuity and imperishableness of the universe, he held to Aristotle. Concerning this point he now instructed his pupil and temporary master. As for the seasons, he spoke as a creature of the lower world who knew absolutely nothing of the brightness of day; for he explained winter from the causes of summer, and thought that the sun, the higher it was in the heavens, the farther it was from the earth, and therefore less in a position to give warmth to this planet. The dwellers of the lower world paid a visit to Faust in his home in Wittenberg, and the

seven spirits of hell of highest rank, with Lucifer at their head—frights in the most grotesque forms—gave him their names. The spectres of hell which were let loose in his room remind us of the skulls and fearful shapes which once tormented St. Anthony in the wilderness. We must take the word of the chap-book that from such instruction as just described Faust at last came forth as a famous mathematician and the best weather prophet and almanac maker.

3. The Tour of the World.

After this quiet diabolical life, which had lasted eight years, with its enjoyments and its studies, was exhausted, the great journey through hell, heaven, and earth began. In the tour of the world, which the chap-book relates in gay confusion, the visits at the court of the pope in Rome, of the sultan in Constantinople, of the emperor in Innsbruck, and of the Count of Anhalt, are particularly notable.

We will not argue with the chap-book in regard to its topographical knowledge of the city of Rome; it is as lacking here as it is in its knowledge of heaven and earth. Let us not question, then, but that the Vatican lies next to the Lateran! But how narrow the

author of the chap-book is in his Lutheran and antipapal views, and how zealously he endeavored to express this tendency in the history of Faust, stands out nowhere so glaringly as in the passages in which he describes the stay of the world-travelers in Rome and Constantinople. Heathendom and popedom are, in his opinion, equally bad, and he accordingly hates one as much as the other. Faust saw in Rome "many abandoned heathen temples," columns, and triumphal arches, in which he took delight. "He also came, in an invisible form, before the pope's palace; there he saw many servants and courtlings, as well as costly splendor of every description, so that he said to himself: 'Fy! why didn't the devil make me, also, a pope?'" Doctor Faustus saw also all those qualities which he himself possessed, such as arrogance, pride, haughtiness, and temerity; and he saw, as well, the godless conduct of the pope," etc. For three days and nights he remained near the pope but invisible to him, and played all sorts of pranks with him—blew in his face, laughed and wept unseen, took, before his nose, the dishes from the table, and performed all the tricks which could be thought of for the entertainment of Luther's followers.

Also Islamism and popedom seemed in the eyes of the narrator so similar that the rôles of prophet and pope could be very well combined and played with the best success by the same person, whether it be the godless magician or the devil himself. Mephistopheles appeared before the sultan, in his palace at Constantinople, as Mohammed, but wearing the ornaments and garb of the pope; and Faust, having played the rôle of the prophet for six days and nights in the harem of the sultan (many being converted to the faith), rode off in the robes of the pope. On both occasions the sultan was highly exalted by the honor which had been shown him.*)

Before the sacred person of the Roman emperor at Innsbruck such derisive jests as were played before the pope and the sultan might not, of course, be performed. Charles V. desired to see an apparition worthy of his dignity—one of the world's great rulers who was his equal. He requested Faust to call up before him Alexander the Great and his wife. The emperor's desire was fulfilled. Alexander appeared as a fat little man, with a heavy red beard, and cheeks of the same hue; his wife,

*) See *supra*, chap. iv., p. 66.

however, was marked by a wart on the back of her neck. When the emperor had sought and found this mark, he was sure that he saw before him the Macedonian royal couple as they looked when living. "He was much pleased, and thought to himself: 'Now I have seen two persons whom I have long desired to see.'" How our narrator came to invent this strange circumstance, and to fasten a birth-mark upon the Macedonian queen with which he makes the Roman emperor, Charles V., appear so familiar, is a question which we shall answer later, in order to throw light on the growth and the character of poetical invention in this field of legend.

Before Faust took his departure from the court of the emperor, he played, for the amusement of the latter, a somewhat malicious trick on one of his knights, a baronet by birth, whose name our narrator would not think of mentioning. By means of magic he made a pair of deer antlers suddenly appear on the man's forehead, as he lay sleeping by the window. To be sure, they fell off again, but, for some time, they placed the man in a most uncomfortable and ludicrous position. All the attempts which the knight made to avenge himself were in vain, being frustrated by the

magic art which Faust used, sometimes to make himself invisible, and sometimes to frighten his enemy with the apparition of a multitude of warriors in armor.

At the court of Anhalt, he made himself, by means of his magical arts, an agreeable and profitable guest. For the count he conjured up, on a neighboring hill, a stately palace, and provided a grand banquet for a large company of invited guests. After there was an end of feasting, the castle passed away in a magnificent and imposing pyrotechnic display. The countess, who, in her pregnant state, felt a peculiar longing for grapes, notwithstanding it was the middle of January, was delighted by receiving from Faust the most luscious fruit that the vine produces, which had just ripened under southern sun. If, at his beck, grapes are immediately at hand, no matter whence they come, they will also grow wherever he commands, even from a table-top, as, according to the chap-book, actually occurs at a banquet given in an imperial city, the name of which is not mentioned. It was not necessary to invent this story; it needed only to be transferred. And, if he can conjure up the fruits of the south, why not also the warmth? The chap-book, in reality, relates that, for the de-

lection of a company of ladies who had come at Christmas time to make a visit in Wittenberg, Faust transformed his yard into a beautiful summer garden. This feature, also, was not invented, but borrowed. When William of Holland was crowned, in Aix-la-Chapelle, king of Germany (November, 1248), Albertus Magnus, according to the legend, conjured up, in the king's palace at Cologne, a summer garden for his reception.

Of the unfortunate flight in Venice no mention is made in the chap-book. Despite the fact that the Wittenberg tradition was so well-known, this story seems to be suppressed; although in our narrative aeronautic journeys appear to be a mode of travel quite common to the *magus*. On his journey through the countries and cities of the world, Mephistophiles serves him as a winged horse. From Wittenberg he carries on his cloak three counts (who are students there) in airy flight to Munich, where they wish to attend the wedding of a prince. At the time of the carnival, he dresses as Bacchus, and flies on a ladder, on each round of which is a student, from Wittenberg to Salzburg, where they all drink of the best that the bishop's cellar affords. Of course, he quarrels with the butler, which

gives rise to further magical tricks. Bacchanalian enjoyments are a favorite and variable theme for the exercising of the magician's art, and one which is quite according to German taste. One time he makes, in the company of his students, a flying "wine trip," going to a distant but well-stored cellar. Another time, seated on a wine-cask, he will fly or ride out of a cellar, before the eyes of his students.*)

The burlesque feats of magic which he performs in his travels, and which the chap-book relates in great number, are for the most part magical sleights. In Gotha, he swallows the horses and wagon of a peasant who, with his load of hay, will not turn out for him. In Zwickau, he devours half the load of another peasant who had sold him as much of his hay as he chose to eat. Noisy peasants in an inn he punishes for refusing to close their mouths by fastening them open. A hostler who fills his glass too full is treated the same way as the load of hay in Gotha; he knocks off the head of another and sets it back on again; he pulls off one of his own legs and leaves it with a Jew as security for a debt: the Jew fail-

*) See *infra*, III., 2.

ing to return him his security, lost the amount of Faust's indebtedness, and was obliged to pay him as much more. Hogs which he had fattened and sold he changes to wisps of straw; a horse trader to whom he trades his horse upon condition that it is not ridden to water is punished for so doing by finding the horse while in the water suddenly changed from under him into a bundle of straw; in Cologne he changes into a pack of cards the breviary which a priest, while on his way to execute some mission, holds in his hand—and numerous other pranks of the same nature, which give the readers of the chap-book the impression of his being at once a merry and just Nemesis. These readers learn with delight how the peasants are punished for their rudeness, avarice, and coarseness; how a Jew, and what is more, "an enemy to Christians," gets worsted; how dealers in hogs and horses are for once themselves cheated; how a horse trader suddenly finds himself in a disagreeable position; how an annoying joke is played on a priest, etc.

The accounts of contemporaries concerning Faust have not a word to say about his stay in Rome, Constantinople, Innsbruck, and Anhalt, which cities are, in the chap-book, the

scenes of such remarkable events. It is evident that these inventions owe their origin to the Lutheran tendency of the narrator. With the followers of Luther the pope is the Antichrist himself, and the sultan is the most feared enemy of Christianity. The emperor Charles V. is considered the most powerful opponent of the Reformation; for he had conquered its heads near Mühlberg, and was now himself threatened in Innsbruck by Maurice of Saxony. That the Vatican and the Seraglio exert a special power of attraction over the anti-Lutheran and antichristian magician, and that he feels as much at home here as the students in Auerbach's Cellar, our chap-book does not merely allude to in an indirect manner, but brings plainly to view; whereas it conceals the motives which induce Faust, as his mood inclines him, to seek out the Imperial court in Innsbruck or the court of the Prince of Anhalt. Perhaps it was the Calvinistic faith of the court of Anhalt which led the author of our Faust book to make the apostate from Lutheranism to find here an hospitable reception. The chap-book appears ten years after the Lutherans and Calvinists in Germany were irreconcilably separated by the *Concordiæ Formula* (1577).

4. The Second Consignment. The Helena, and Faust's End.

Sixteen years have rolled by; Faust has returned to Wittenberg and has consumed all but a third of the period of his magic glory. There a pious old man attempts his conversion, as had been already related by Lercheimer, whom the chap-book follows in its narration of the same incident. *) The chap-book explains further that this man was a neighbor, and, indeed, a physician who had retained his love for the Bible, whereas Faust had become, first, an unbelieving *medicus* and then a godless *magus*. This god-fearing physician remonstrated with Faust, citing from the Acts of the Apostles the example of Simon Magus who finally became converted, and thus brought him into a thoughtful, repentant mood, so that he was resolved to break his compact with the devil. But this was impossible. The devil threatened to tear him to pieces, and at once forced him to make a new consignment in blood, which Faust rendered in the seventeenth year of his diabolical career.

He now enjoyed, during the remaining years, (as a person who is to be hanged does

*) See *supra*, chap. v., pp. 83-85.

his last meal) the "Epicurean life" in the most wanton fullness. On a journey through Europe, the seven most beautiful women were sought out, with whom he lived like a sultan.

There was, however, one pleasure which surpassed even these. At a students' banquet once given at his house in Wittenberg, a great deal had been said upon the subject of beautiful women. One of the guests hereupon expressed a desire to see the most beautiful woman who had ever lived, the Greek Helena, on whose account Troy had fallen. Faust caused her to appear, and the students, although they knew that it was only a shade, were so enraptured with love that they could not sleep the next night. It was the evening of the first Sunday after Easter. The Christian world had just celebrated the Easter-festival in commemoration of Christ's resurrection. A week later Faust causes the Greek Helena to be resurrected.

Years had gone by since then, and the last year left to him had begun. The joys of the harem were exhausted. One midnight, when he awoke from his sleep, he saw, in his imagination, the Helena standing before his bedside, still possessing all the charm which had so ravished himself and guests. The pos-

session of this woman was now his last and greatest wish, with which Mephistopheles was obliged to comply. He married the Helena, and she became so endeared to him that he did not wish to be a moment from her side. She bore him a son, whom they called Justus Faustus; he was a precocious child, and endowed with the gift of prophecy. He afforded Faust great delight, and revealed to him many future events. Upon Faust's death, both mother and son disappeared.

The last year was drawing to a close. He had only one month more to live, and he felt as a murderer must feel, who, imprisoned, awaits his execution. He now deplored his coming doom, which he knew could not be staid, and which he realized he had brought upon himself through his own guilt; and his lamentations did not cease to be heard. Mephistopheles, sure of his prey, ridiculed him, saying that if one presumed to associate with lords and the devil he was sure to be punished for his arrogance. At the next midnight hour Faust's note falls due. His last evening he spends in the village of Rimlich, near Wittenberg, visiting with his friends and pupils, to whom he addresses a farewell speech, which contained many proofs of his repentance, and

many admonitions to others. Amidst the raging of the elements, his terrible fate is fulfilled.

5. The Edition of 1590.

The five Erfurt stories, which, besides the Leipsic legend of the ride on the wine-cask, are added to the 1590 edition of the Frankfort chap-book, form of themselves a small legendary group, which is based upon the positive presupposition that Faust taught for many years in the university of Erfurt, in which city Luther had spent his years of cloister life. *)

Two of these narrations breathe the spirit of the Renaissance. Faust having explained Homer's poems to the students, and described everything very clearly, his hearers, taken up with these descriptions, wish to see the characters of Homer in the flesh. Faust accordingly called up before them the Trojan heroes, Agamemnon, Menelaus, Achilles, Odysseus, Ajax, and Hector, and at last the man-eating Polyphemus, who inspired the students with horror. Soon afterward, upon the occasion of a disputation on the Roman comedies, he boasted that he could bring the

*) See *supra*, p. 103.

lost plays of Plautus and Terence again to light, to be sure, only as a passing vision, which could not be retained, but which could probably be very hastily copied, during the short time that it would last. However, the theologians ("with whom, for other reasons, he was not on good terms") and the councillors would not have anything to do with such an augmentation to ancient learning.

Two other stories from the Erfurt *Sagenkreis* (group of legends) show us how the magician exercises his magic powers as guest and host. The description of the banquet given at the house of the patrician in the *Schlossergasse* at Erfurt, at which Faust suddenly appears, we shall soon examine more closely, together with the account of the ride on the wine-cask at Leipsic; for the motives for their invention derive their explanation from a common theme, which the Faust legend borrows and further develops. The second story, describing the banquet which Faust gives to his friends in Erfurt, contains an invention peculiar to our legend which appears here for the first time and which constitutes a theme of lasting import. The German popular dramas take it up and vary it to suit their purpose. The guests are assem-

bled, and, as yet, nothing is prepared. But Faust is too good a host to let his guests wait and go hungry. He calls up his servants, and inquires after the degree of their swiftness. The first has the speed of the arrow, the second that of the wind, the third that of thought. He chooses the third, who now provides for and conducts the banquet in excellent style, combining the quickest service with the richest viands. *)

A characteristic feature of our Faust book is the narration of the attempt to convert Faust which is here made, at the instigation of the numerous distinguished friends of the *magus*, by a "famous barefooted monk, Dr. Klinge, who was also well acquainted with Luther." Faust, however, was not moved. He was asked to repent, and he was told the monk would then read mass for the salvation of his soul. But Faust answers: "*Mess hin Mess her!*" (Be gone with your mass!). He considers himself lost forever, for he had, with his own blood, consigned himself to the devil; he had broken his faith with God, and would, he said, keep his word with the devil, since the latter had honestly fulfilled his obligations.

*) See *supra*, chap. II., p. 34.

Such a hardened sinner could no longer be suffered in Erfurt. When the authorities learned from Klinge what "a cursed child of the devil" Faust was, he was compelled to leave the city. The Catholic attempt at conversion which the famous barefooted monk made at Erfurt was even less successful than that of the Lutheran physician in Wittenberg.*)

III. FEATURES TRANSFERRED AND FURTHER DEVELOPED.

1. The Evoking of the Dead before the Emperor.

If one compares Lercheimer's writing of 1585 with the oldest Faust book (editions of 1587 and 1590), it can be distinctly seen how certain features have been transferred to the Faust legend and here further developed by being changed and remodeled, enlarged upon, and localized.

Lercheimer relates that the abbot Tritheim, whom we already know, made the deceased wife of the emperor Maximilian I., Mary of Burgundy, to appear in her husband's presence, and that the emperor identified her in

*) Cf. Wilhelm Scherer: *Einleitung zum ältesten Faustbuch* (Berlin 1884), M. Schwengberg: *das Spies'sche Faustbuch und seine Quelle* (1885).

every respect, even to the finding of the mole on the back of her neck, which caused a shudder to pass over him. This feature is remodeled and in the Frankfort chap-book transferred to Faust. But here it is not Maximilian I. but his grandson, Charles V., in Innsbruck, for whom Faust, at his desire, evokes Alexander the Great and his wife. The emperor identifies the latter by a large wart on her neck, a mark for which he specially looks, because he has often heard of it. The origin of the large wart on the neck of the Macedonian queen is thus explained; it was once a mole on the neck of Mary of Burgundy! Thus a bit of Faust history arises through an awkward transference, which, with a childish lack of judgment, still holds fast to a detail that, under the circumstances, has become impossible.

In the next Faust book the two stories of Lercheimer and Spies are mixed. That which, according to Widman's own reference, should be told of Charles V., he tells of Maximilian I., for whom the Macedonian royal couple, and not his wife, is conjured up.

And in such rude invention, which, properly speaking, was only inconsistent borrowing, lay the motive to the theme which Goethe

carries out in the second part of his poem: Faust at the court of the emperor.

2. The Bacchanalian Works of Magic.

In the same chapter which contains Tritheim's act of conjuring just mentioned and which deals "with great and glorious magicians and jugglers," Lercheimer relates that at the court of H—— *) a wandering juggler had, at a banquet, brought forth from a table-top vines laden with grapes and had requested each of the guests to put his knife on a stem, but not to cut it until he should give the word. The juggler then went away, and upon his return each guest still held his knife in his hand; under it, however, was no longer the bunch of grapes but his own nose.

The Frankfort chap-book immediately transfers this story to Faust, and makes it to take place in an "imperial city of note," the name of which is not given. †) Thus this delightful piece of magic finds a place in the history of Faust, and we read it still in Philip Camerarius.

*) The court of Heidelberg, where Calvinistic opinions prevailed, is probably meant. See *supra*, p. 122.

†) Spies: chap. lxv.

This pleasing theme is further developed, the display of magic is heightened, and the place of its occurrence is named. We have already referred to the story of the banquet in the house of the patrician in Erfurt as found in the edition of the Faust book of 1590. The guests regret that Faust, a companion who is always welcome but who happens to be in Prague, cannot be with them. Suddenly he appears, having returned upon his magical winged horse. Having been joyfully greeted by all and entertained in a sumptuous manner, he wishes to do something in return which would afford the company both pleasure and amusement. He understands the art of making wine without grapes, which nowadays is even attempted without the aid of magic. Holes are bored in the table-top, and from these, as if they were casks, he causes the most costly wines to flow. Thus, under the hands of this magician, the tables are changed into wine-casks. The invention is now in full career; and the wine-casks also are made to move at his touch and to become velocipedes. The same book relates how Faust, in the company of Wittenberg students, visits the Leipzig Fair and there rides out of the cellar

a large cask of wine which no porter can stir.

All these feats of magic which the Faust books of 1587 and 1590 relate and locate in various places—the first in an unnamed imperial city, the second in Erfurt, the third in Leipsic—Goethe has combined in a scene of his poem, the drinking bout of the students in Auerbach's Cellar. In the original form, also, of the just mentioned scene, it was not Mephistopheles but Faust himself who performed this merry sleight. Goethe, when a student in Leipsic, was very familiar with Auerbach's Cellar. He wrote, the 16th of October, 1767, to his friend Behrisch, as follows: "I go no more to Auerbach's *Hof*, where I used to be every day."*)

As at the banquet in Erfurt, so here in Goethe's scene wines flow from the table-top; as at the banquet in the imperial city, the guests see vines and grapes grow up out of the table and are enchanted and disenchanted in the same way as there. The third sleight, also, is not forgotten; for Altmayer says at the close of the scene, after Faust and Mephistopheles have disappeared:

*) Goethe-Jahrbuch, vol. vii., 1886, p. 86.

"I saw him with these eyes upon a wine-cask riding
Out of the cellar door, just now."*)

When certain interpreters of Goethe's Faust have thought to give the scene in Auerbach's Cellar a profound and allegorical meaning, I fear that they are troubled with their ideas as were the guests with the grapes and that someone is leading them around by the nose!

*) "Ich hab ihn selbst hinaus zur Kellerthüre
Auf einem Fasse reiten sehen!"

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CHAPTER VII.

THE CHAP-BOOKS, OR VOLKS- BÜCHER.

B. GEORGE RUDOLPH WIDMAN AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

I. WIDMAN'S FAUST BOOK.

1. Its Tendency and Its Chronological Data.

THE Frankfort chap-book had, to be sure, satisfied for the time being the longing for the history of Faust, but it had not in all respects done justice to the interests of the readers among the Lutheran people, for whom it was intended. The story was not full and complete, not scholarly and instructive, nor sufficiently marked in its Lutheran tendencies and its opposition to the Catholics and the pope. In order to thoroughly remedy these deficiencies, George Rudolph Widman of Schwäbisch-Hall wrote his large work in three parts, strung out to great length with long-winded "Reminders," which appeared in Hamburg

in 1599, and served for the guidance of the later Faust books. The title announces at once the veracity and frightfulness of the story: "The Veritable History of the hideous and abominable sins and vices, also of many wonderful and strange adventures, which Dr. Johannes Faustus, a notorious black-artist and arch-sorcerer, by means of his black art, committed even until his terrible ending. Fitted out and expounded with necessary reminders and admirable instances, for manifold instruction and warning."

The Frankfort printer, Spies, had published his Faust book without any chronological data whatever, which in a true history surely ought not to be lacking, especially since the events narrated occurred in the author's own life-time. This defect Widman thought to remedy and therefore furnishes his "Veritable History" with dates. According to his account, Faust concluded the compact with the devil in 1521; began his tour of the world in 1525; and was carried off by the devil in 1545, when forty-one years of age. At sixteen he entered upon his university studies and aspired after magic, which he had already pursued two years when he sold himself to the devil. Four years after beginning

his studies he became Doctor of Medicine, having been graduated as Doctor of Divinity a year and a half previous. According to these statements, Faust lived from 1504 to 1545, came to the university in 1520, pursued the study of magic from 1519 to 1521, concluded his compact with the devil in 1521, became Doctor of Divinity some time in 1522, Doctor of Medicine in 1524, and dates his public appearance from 1525; his world-wide reputation he acquired by his extensive travels through many countries and cities.*)

That Faust should become a Doctor of Divinity a year and a half after forming his compact with the devil, is a peculiar beginning of a diabolical career! To be sure, we do not learn until shortly before his death of his having taken this degree; for Widman suppresses this fact at the beginning of his narrative. The emperor to whom he calls up the shades of Alexander the Great and his wife is, according to Widman's account, Maximilian I., who had already been dead six years when Faust began his tour of the world.

*) Cf. Widman: Part I., Preface; and Part III., chap. xii.

He would have been obliged to first bring the Roman emperor from the lower world before troubling the Macedonian king. In an earlier passage of our Faust book Charles V. was named as the emperor for whom Faust had called Alexander from his sleep, as he had in Erfurt evoked for the students the Homeric heroes. In describing Alexander's appearance before the emperor, Widman makes it the grandfather instead of the grandson, and combines, or rather, confounds in this way what he had read in the writings of Lercheimer and Spies. When he wrote the tenth chapter of the Second Part of his Faust history, he had forgotten what he had said in the Reminder contained in the 38th chapter of the First Part. This shows that he gave no thought to lending his history coherence, and that he wrote his Reminders without remembrance.*)

The above chronological data, which, as is self-evident, have no historical foundation, were invented with a special purpose in view, and were motived by the parallels and the contrast which might be drawn between Luther and the magician who had deserted

*) See *supra*, p. 135 *et seq.*

his cause. The same year in which Luther fulfills his divine mission at the diet of Worms, then begins the translation of the Bible in the Wartburg, and, on a certain occasion, throws his inkstand at the devil (1521), Faust abjures his belief in God and the Holy Writ, and pledges himself with his blood to the devil. The same year in which Luther enters the married state, and establishes a household as is pleasing to God (1525), Faust rushes, in the company of Mephistopheles, into the wide world, and begins his vagabond and dissolute life. The same year in which Luther writes, shortly before his death, the book entitled: "*Das Papstthum in Rom, durch den Teufel gestiftet*" (Popedom in Rome, Founded by the Devil) Faust is carried away by the devil (1545). In the illustration of the character of the anti-Lutheran magician it seems to be just as typical of Johann Faust that the title of Doctor should be prefixed to his name as it is natural to find the same title used with the name of Martin Luther.

The choice of the year 1521 is at once made plain by its importance in the world's history. And Widman not only had the antithesis to which we have referred in mind, but he also expresses it. He makes Faust to

write in a book the following in hidden characters: "*Anno* 1521 my beloved servant, Me-phostophiles, appeared to me in accordance with my desire." Immediately after follows the "Story Told of Dr. Faust by Dr. Luther." Here he makes Luther to say: "When, *anno* 1521, I was staying in the lofty Wart-burg on Patmos, the devil tormented me very often, but with faith I resisted him, and met him with the sentence: 'God is my master,' etc." If the year 1521 is considered the beginning of his compact with the devil, then his term of years would have expired in 1544. We read in Widman's book: "The devil had granted him a year respite."*) Judging from this, it would seem that the year 1545 appeared to the mind of Widman as peculiarly significant, and appropriate for the end to which Faust comes. We shall presently see what importance is given in our Faust book to the abjuration of marriage, which the devil demands, in contradistinction to the holiness of marriage, as upheld by Luther. Therefore, I presume that Widman chose the year 1525 because the marriage of Luther took place in this year, and made Faust's

*) Widman: Part I., Preface; Part III., chap. xii.

vagabond life, spent in company with the devil, to begin at the same time.

2. *Widman's Faust.*

The account of the *magus'* stay at the court of Anhalt, together with the fact that Wittenberg lay so near, probably induced the author of the Hamburg Faust book to change Faust's parental home from Roda, near Weimar, and to transfer it to Sondwedel (Salzwedel), in the duchy of Anhalt. While still a young boy, he goes to live with a rich and childless relative in Wittenberg, who comes to love him as a son and causes him to be educated. Wittenberg, the shining light of the Lutheran faith, has nothing to do with the godless workings of magic. But, on the other hand, a Catholic university, such as Ingolstadt, seemed to our narrator to be just the place to awaken and foster a taste for magic, for he regards the forms of worship practiced in the Roman Church as magical in their character. Therefore, he makes Faust to begin his studies in Ingolstadt, where he is led astray and takes up with magic. "And since the old papistic *régime* still held sway, and the casting of spells, and things of like superstitious and atheistical nature, were of

frequent occurrence, Faust was greatly delighted."

He studied diligently medicine, astronomy, and astrology, so that he was the first among twelve who took the degree of M. A., and, at last, he became Doctor of Medicine. In addition to this, he acquired from the gypsies a knowledge of fortune-telling, and searched in works on magic for the mysterious signs and the wonderful substance called the philosopher's stone, which, according to cabalistic teaching, was present in the largest quantities in the ether of the early morning light. "So, at early rise of sun, he made use of the *crepusculum matutinum*, not stopping even for sacred festive days."*) He did as is commanded in the Book of Mystery in Goethe's Faust, "from Nostradamus' very hand:"

"Disciple, up! untiring, hasten
To bathe thy breast in morning red."†)

After the death of his relative, he returns to Wittenberg, and is made by his inheritance a rich man, so he no longer studies industriously, but, spending his time in wanton

*) Widman: Part I., chap. i.

†) "Auf! bade, Schüler, unverdrossen
Die ird'sche Brust im Morgenroth!"

idleness, takes the way which leads to destruction. He knows the signs with which to conjure up the devil; he first calls him up in the woods, then in his own room, and perhaps some features of Widman's description came before Goethe's mind when he wrote the corresponding scene of his poem. "Faust sees a shadow pass by the stove, and it seems to him to have the form of a man. A few moments later, he sees the same thing again in a different manner, so he takes out his book, and conjures it to let itself be seen aright; then it went behind the stove, and stuck out its head, which appeared to be human; finally it came forward into full view, and bowed and made obeisance without ceasing."

The grand traits which the Frankfort chap-book renders prominent in Faust's character are so effaced at the hands of Widman as scarcely to be longer recognizable. There, Faust concluded the compact with the devil on account of his aspirations for knowledge, impious and presumptuous as such aspirations may have been; here, on the contrary, after being led astray by bad company, corrupted by luxury and idleness, and goaded on by love of pleasure. "While on earth he craved the satisfaction of his appetites and desires. His

views agreed with those of the Lutherans, if the remark of a prince at the diet of Augsburg may be taken as indicative of these: 'What does heaven concern me! I seek the pleasures of this world and let heaven take care of itself.'" These words remind us involuntarily of the lines from Goethe's *Faust*:

"The *There* my scruples naught increases.
When thou hast dashed this world to pieces,
The other, then, its place may fill."*)

The wings of an eagle, which, according to the Frankfort chap-book, Faust took to himself, in order to explore all the secrets of heaven and earth, he seems to have lost, for Widman makes no mention of them. But his talents he has retained, for Widman's Faust is represented as a man who disgracefully misuses and wastes the rich gifts which God has bestowed upon him. He was "a great and noble genius."

After Faust had sold himself body and soul to Satan, the messenger of the latter appears in the form of a monk; for "the monks," as Widman explains, "are the god-

*) "Das Drüben kann mich wenig kümmern;
Schlägst du erst diese Welt zu Trümmern,
Die andre mag darnach entstehn!"

less brothers of the pope, the true servants of the devil, and the masks which he often assumes when he appears among men." Faust having surrendered himself forever to the infernal kingdom, the spirit of hell plays, for the term of years agreed upon, the rôle of a submissive family spirit, always ready for service, who seeks to make his master forget that he has the devil in his house. "You ought not to shudder in my presence; for I am not a devil but a *spiritus familiaris* who is pleased to dwell among men."*)

In the narrations of the "disputations," the tour of the world, and the magical tricks there are no features in Widman which have a marked peculiarity. He has omitted the journey to the upper and lower worlds, as well as the stay in Rome and Constantinople, and has only adopted in his story of Faust the visits at the courts of the emperor and of the Prince of Anhalt. The diabolical dog which, as a legend relates, always accompanied Agrippa, and which the Wittenberg tradition also gives Faust as a constant companion, Widman calls Prästigiär, and uses him in his history as a means to introduce the account

*) Widman: Part I., chap. xi., Reminder.

of Faust having fraternized with an abbot who wished to own this dog; the abbot received him from Faust as a token of friendship, and lived with him on the best of terms.*)

One of the notable features which distinguish Widman's Faust book from the Frankfort work is the abjuration of marriage, which is here not presupposed but is the fifth and last of the conditions that, according to the compact, Faust must fulfill. In working out this theme Widman is in his element. Here the Biblical and Lutheran acceptance of marriage, especially of the marriage of priests, is used as an argument against the Catholic and papistical Church. Marriage, he says, is of God, celibacy of the devil, for it begets and furthers unchastity, which is the devil's aim. The reader is informed in very long Reminders what horrible crimes the popes, John XIII. and Alexander VI. being named as examples, had committed. Gregory VII. is regarded by the author of our Faust book as a *magus* who even excelled the Egyptian magicians.†)

As soon as a desire for marriage manifests itself in Faust's mind, it is, as in the

*) Widman: Part I., chap. xxv.; Part II., chap. vi.

†) See *supra*, chap. vi., p. 100 *et seq.* Widman: I., chap. ix., Reminder; chap. x., Reminder.

Frankfort chap-book, first destroyed by frightful phantoms, and then satisfied by unchaste females. But the marriage to the Helena is, in the eyes of Widman, so horrible that he says he would much prefer to suppress the story "for very serious reasons having to do with the cause of Christianity," although the author, when speaking of popes and of the results of celibacy, is not especially considerate of his readers' feelings of modesty. In the Reminder following the history proper, he cautiously imparts to the reader a fact which in the Frankfort chap-book was stated openly, namely, that on the Sunday after Easter Faust had shown at a students' banquet the Grecian Helena to his guests. In the closing Reminder of the Second Part, he concludes "not to withhold from his Christian readers Faust's marriage to the Helena." This heathen prodigy, he says, first gave birth to "a frightful monster" and afterward to a boy—a beautiful child—called Justus. After the death of his father, he appeared once more with the Helena to Faust's famulus, Johann Wäiger, and then disappeared together with his mother, forever. *) We will not neglect to state, in this connec-

*) Ibid., Part II., chap. xxiv., Reminder; chap. xxv., Reminder to the Christian reader. Part III., chap. xx.

tion, that Widman gives more exact information concerning the origin of this famulus than Spies: he was, according to him, the out-cast son of a priest at Wasserburg.*) This gives him occasion to add the following Reminder: "The misfortunes and the ruin of Johann Wäiger were caused, in the first place, by his father. He was a man who despised wedlock," etc.

II. PFITZER AND "ONE WITH CHRISTIAN INTENTIONS."

1. The New Adaptations.

After Widman's work had been for seventy-five years the Faust book best known among the people, it was itself, in turn, revised by a physician of Nuremberg, Nicholas Pfitzer. The disputations were abridged, the accounts of travel were omitted, and the number of Reminders, which are here called "Notes," is increased. The book appeared in 1674, and the title is as follows: "The Scandalous Life and Horrible End of the notorious arch-sorcerer, Johannes Faustus, first zealously described many years ago by G. R. Widman; now revised, and augmented with new Reminders, as well as questions and stories cal-

*) Ibid., Part II., chap. v.

culated to awaken meditation, written as a warning to the wicked world of to-day.”*)

Dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century, people commenced to doubt whether compacts were ever formed with the devil, and, in fact, to question magic in general. The truth of the Faust history was contested on many sides, and the public no longer desired to read through large volumes to obtain it, but preferred a book of few pages. Accordingly, the Widman-Pfitzer work was “compressed into an agreeable brevity,” and put into the form from which resulted the *Fahrmarktsausgabe* (the edition intended for sale at the Fair held annually). This edition Goethe probably read in his childhood. However, in this new form as well, the frightful history was still to serve “as a hearty admonition and warning to all willful sinners.” The author, who withheld his name or only indicated it by initials, designates himself on the title-page as “One with Christian Inten-

*) The book contains the following preliminary remarks: “A short, needful, and well-founded report of the magical conjuring and casting of spells as performed by the late Conradum W. Platzium, formerly Doctor of Divinity and Pastor at Bibracte, edited and collected many years ago in this very instructive form.”—New edition by A. von Keller, Tübingen, 1880.

tions." The book appeared in Frankfort-on-the-Main and Leipsic, in 1728.

2. The Story of Faust's Marriage.

Pfitzer and, following him, "One with Christian Intentions" have also given a place in their narrative to the *magus'* wish to marry; but they differ from the two earlier chap-books in that they add more of the details, so that from the account of his desire to marry is developed the story of his marriage. We know how that desire was motivated: it was awakened by mere sexual instinct. The devil opposed him; for he is not a friend of marriage but rather favors lewdness, and is therefore, quite in accordance with the tendency of the chap-books, an advocate of celibacy and a follower of the papists, which idea Widman, especially, carries out, putting all his Lutheran zeal into the subject.*)

According to the Frankfort chap-book, Faust wishes to marry, and there is no positive prohibition contained in the compact with the devil to prevent him doing so. However, there is no object, as yet, which excites his love, nor is this deficiency supplied by Wid-

*) See *supra*, pp. 145-148.

man, although he does make the devil to demand and Faust to accept the abjuration of marriage. But it is not enough for Faust to desire marriage; he must also fall in love. This feature is added by Pfitzer, whom "One with Christian Intentions" follows. The former refers to the object of Faust's affections as "a rather pretty, but poor girl from the country;" the latter speaks of her as "a pretty, but poor maid-servant" who works for a shopkeeper in Faust's neighborhood, and who will only fulfill Faust's desires upon condition that he marry her. But the devil succeeds in dispelling such desires, and, as compensation, grants him permission to marry the "beautiful Grecian Helena;" this Pfitzer relates without reserve.*) "One with Christian Intentions" says, "Faust received the Helena as a special favor from Lucifer."

This is, then, Faust's so-called love affair, which is found in the chap-books, but which did not go any further than is shown by the few paltry words just quoted. And this story is the embryo, as the investigators of our day allege to have discovered, from which came forth the Gretchen of Goethe's poem! How

*) Pfitzer: Part III., chap's. xxi. and xxii.

absurd! So the poet must have taken even the character of Gretchen from the literature extant, having first found the materials for the same in an old chap-book! So, if it had not been for the servant-girl at the shop-keeper's in Wittenberg who pleased the fancy of Pfitzer's Faust, Goethe's Faust would have lacked its Gretchen! How ridiculous!

III. THE CHAP-BOOKS AND GOETHE.

Although Goethe, whenever he speaks of the materials of his poem, always names the puppet-play and the fable founded upon this, as its primary source, yet, it cannot be doubted that he read the chap-books, and that the two Frankfort Faust books, namely, those of Spies and "One with Christian Intentions," were early known to him. When the poet began the elaboration of his Faust, it was incumbent upon him to make himself thoroughly familiar with the materials of the Faust history as found in the chap-books, especially those of Widman and Pfitzer. The interesting fact has been noted that, as early as the year 1802, when Goethe was engaged in the completion of the First Part of his poem, he took the Pfitzer Faust book from the library in Weimar and kept it several months. We

have shown that certain features, as, for example, all the ideas which are combined and developed in the scene in Auerbach's Cellar, were contained in the chap-books, and that they were to be found only there. In other passages, as, for example, in the portrayal of the character of Faust's mind, his yearning desire for knowledge, his craving for the pleasures of the world, his defection from God and acceptance of magic, the conjuring up of the devil, the appearance of Mephistopheles, the airy travels, etc., we are so involuntarily reminded of certain features of Goethe's Faust that we are justified in assuming that the poet had the scenes of the chap-books in mind when he wrote. It has been ascertained that all the incidents which call forth such comparisons are contained in Pfitzer's Faust book.*)

Before we leave the history of Faust, let us notice the attempt which has recently been made by H. Grimm to explain the same, together with its bearing upon Goethe's Faust, his purpose being to show the manner of growth of the oldest chap-book, as well as the

*) Fr. Meyer: Fauststudien. Archiv für Litteraturgeschichte XIII., p. 234 *et seq.*

elements which make up its contents.*) He finds that the dramatic style and arrangement of the Faust history are, in the main, such, that it becomes necessary to assume that the author used a drama of five acts as his source, and that it is the substance of this drama which he relates. The conjuring up of the devil in the Spesser Forest; the appearance of Mephistopheles; the "disputations" with the latter; the stay at the court of the emperor and of the pope; the banquet in Wittenberg; the apparition of the Helena; the attempt at conversion; the second consignment; and, finally, Faust's end, form, he says, the subject-matter of these five acts. The existence of such an old drama is not only not proven, but, what is more, it is entirely unknown. Simrock had advanced, some time before, a similar fantastic statement in support of his delusion that the printer of Mentz was the real hero of the Faust legend.†) But if, instead of fancies, facts are to be accepted, it was, in reality, just the reverse: the drama grew out of the chap-book, and not the chap-book out of the drama.

*) Preussische Jahrbücher, vol. xlvii. The Origin of the Chap-book on Dr. Faust (1881), pp. 445-465.

†) See *supra*, chap. v., p. 99.

Grimm alleges to have discovered the sources upon which the author of the chap-book drew in collecting the material for his Faust history. They were, he says, the writings of Tritheim, the "Confessions" of Augustine, and the letters of Erasmus. The reader will recall the letter in which Tritheim describes Georgius Sabellicus, who called himself "*Faustus Junior*," and "*Magus Secundus*." This George Faust, an Italian by birth, was a wandering juggler and adventurer, and became, Grimm affirms, the hero of the Faust legend. He called himself the second *magus* because of Simon Magus, who was the first. The latter had made in Rome an unfortunate attempt to fly, in which he was followed by the second *magus*, only that the scene of the event was Venice instead of Rome. The abbot Tritheim wrote, it seems, a Sponheim Chronicle, which the author of the chap-book probably read, and learned through it that, at the beginning of the century, there lived at the court of Paris an Italian by the name of Johannes, who bore the title of "*Philosophus philosophorum*." From him he borrowed the name, Johannes, transferred the same to the hero of his story, and had thus a "Johann Faust," but who still

lacked theological and philosophical learning.

This the author took from the "Confessions" of Augustine. He had read that Augustine was the son of plain parents, that he was born near a university town, became himself a teacher at the university, was impressed with the ideas of the Manichæans, and was eager to make the acquaintance of the Manichæan bishop, Faustus, although he had been warned by an old man who sought to convert him. These features were borrowed, and transferred to the hero of our history. Johann Faust, also, is now represented as the child of plain people, and his birth-place is located near a university town; he, too, is a teacher at a university, advocates the view of the world advanced by the Manichæans, and his conversion is sought by an old man.

But the merry, erotic, and sensual elements in his character were yet to be supplied—the elements which were contained in the atmosphere of the Renaissance period, and which must needs be imparted to the hero of our history. These features, also, had to be borrowed. They were found in the letters of Erasmus, who, when in Paris, was a friend of

the Italian humanist, Faustus Andrelinus. One day Erasmus invited this friend to dine with him, and upon the latter expressing a desire to have a dish of small birds, he was treated to the same. As we know, Erasmus lived afterward in Basel. It will also be remembered that Johann Gast tells of having been present at a banquet in Basel at which Faust gave the cook some unknown birds to prepare. The matter is now explained. "Here, then, we have, it would seem, the nest of unknown small birds of which Gast speaks." Some time before this, Erasmus had written from London a letter to this same friend in which he gave him a description of the charming and obliging girls which were to be found there, and asked him to come over in haste; if his gout should trouble him, to fly through the air as did Dædalus. Now, we not only know the origin of Faust's unknown birds, but of his airy flight as well. "For the origin of the flight through the air, and for the fact of its occurrence, there is no less abundant proof." And, finally, Erasmus himself is borrowed and transferred to the Faust history. We should have no idea what rôle the great humanist of the age might take which would accord with the Faust of the chap-book if Grimm did not

plainly state that, "Erasmus is perhaps the prototype of Wagner!"*)

How, then, did the Helena get into the Faust history? We are also advised on this point. "The report had spread that Tritheim had caused the Virgin Mary to appear before the emperor Maximilian. From this a Helena was soon produced."†) But it was not the Virgin Mary at all, but Mary of Burgundy, the deceased wife of Maximilian, whom the abbot of Sponheim conjured up for the emperor, as reported by Lercheimer; and, moreover, it is Lercheimer whom Grimm quotes in the above passage!

However, we are left in uncertainty as to what is alleged to have been borrowed from the "Confessions" of Augustine; is it Augustine or the Manichæan, Faustus, or both? "It is a strange coincidence that the Manichæan, Faustus; the vagrant, George Faustus; and the professor, Faustus Andrelinus, should, because of names which sound alike, come to be united in a new imaginary personage." Yes, indeed, it is strange, very strange!

Again: "Goethe's own fortunes during sixty years of his life are, as it were, dif-

*) *Preussische Jahrbücher*, vol. xlvii., p. 457.

†) *Ibid.*, p. 457.

fused into the character of Faust. The Manichæan furnishes the philosophical and theological basis; the learned vagrant, Faust, the love for a wandering life full of adventure; the Paris professor, Faust, the erotic element, and Goethe himself gives substance to the whole by adding the combined thought of his own century." It cannot be conceived what wind blew St. Augustine; the Manichæan, Faustus, and three unsaintly Italians together, and how this misshapen mass could give rise to the history of Faust which the chap-books relate and from which Goethe drew.

My only purpose in examining more closely into the above attempt at an analysis of the history and the poem of Faust was to give one more illustration of the wrong directions taken by many in their use of the historical method, and the degeneration into which this method has fallen at present, owing to the craze for discovering whence everything has been borrowed; for some, not content with trying to vindicate seeming instances of borrowing, for which there is no historical proof whatever, and which would have no explanatory value if proven, have even gone so far as to invent statements in regard to borrowed matter which are utterly senseless.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE'S TRAGEDY OF FAUST.

I. THE PRODUCTION OF THE PLAY—AND ITS SOURCE.

THE Faust history as found in the Frankfurt chap-book contained such an abundance of stirring and varied action, so many striking scenes and tragical incidents, that it offered excellent material for a dramatic production. As soon as a poet took hold of this material, the narrative, of necessity, was changed into a drama. The English stage, in the period which produced Shakespeare, was, of all contemporary theatres, the one most fitted to accomplish this task. In England the most popular and the most striking materials were sought, and, the greater the horror awakened, the greater and the more general was the effect. Thus arose the so-called English "Schauertragödie," or "horror tragedy," for which no subject could be more fit and more alluring than the German legend of Faust.

His bold struggles, his defection from God, the league with Satan, the tour of the world in search of adventure, the intermingling of sublime and burlesque scenes, the ever approaching doom, the fear of the end, the horror of the termination itself—what a wealth of exciting and thrilling incidents. In order to develop the same and give them their full tragical effect, the passions which were the cause of Faust's guilt and sad fate must be keenly felt by the spectator and not merely viewed with Lutheran horror, which was the sentiment pervading the German chap-books. At that time, Christopher Marlowe was perhaps the only poet who found anything akin to his own nature in the character of the German *magus* as described by the chap-book. He was an actor and dramatic author, as was his friend, Robert Green. Both led, it was reported, dissolute, godless lives. They were Shakespeare's most talented precursors and contemporaries. Marlowe's theatrical career was short; it occupied the years from 1587 to 1593, and came to an abrupt end in a duel which a love affair had occasioned. He was only thirty when he died.

His composition, which marks an epoch in the poetical development of the Faust legend,

is entitled: "Tragical History of the Life and Death of Dr. Faustus." It was performed in 1595, and ten years later it was printed, after its presentation had been often repeated, and its text, as is proven by literary notices, had been interpolated in 1597 and 1602. To ascertain in detail what these interpolations were, would require a thorough investigation of the subject, which does not constitute a part of our present task. At the very beginning of the play we find a passage in which Faust wishes he had an army with which to compel the Prince of Parma (Alessandro Farnese) to leave the country. These words refer to the Netherlands, and seem to point to the condition of things there prior to the year 1588. If they proceed from Marlowe himself his play must have been written in 1588, immediately following the appearance of the Frankfort chap-book. In this case the English poet must have taken his material directly from the German text without the interposition of a translation.*) The fact that the striking scene in which Faust calls up the spirits of hell and chooses the swiftest is not found in Marlowe's tragedy,

*) Alfr. v. d. Velde: Marlowe's Faust, die älteste dramatische Bearbeitung der Faustsage, etc. (Breslau, 1870).

I regard as an indication that he was not acquainted with the edition of 1590. The writers of the German popular dramas did not fail to bring in the scene. Since the English translation of the old Faust book, which appeared in 1592, did not contain this scene, I presume that this was Marlowe's source.

In the Frankfort chap-book there was an account of Faust having swallowed the load of hay of a peasant in Zwickau. In Marlowe's play the peasant himself tells the story, but makes Wittenberg the scene of the occurrence. Since this account is not found in the oldest English translation, some have been inclined to conclude that it was taken from the Faust book of 1587.*) However, such conclusions are doubtful; for the incident may have been taken from another translation; or, owing to the uncertainty of our text, it may have been interpolated by another.

II. THE CONDUCT OF THE PLAY.

The Chorus informs us in the Prologue that Faust, a child of plain people in Roda, had come when a young man to Wittenberg, where he had become a Doctor of Divinity;

*) Ibid., p. 24

but that he was now about to abandon theology and take up magic.

In the first scene Faust himself is seated in his study, surrounded by his books, and full of an unsatisfied longing for knowledge. The philosophy of Aristotle; logic and rhetoric—yes, and medicine, he has, he states, studied through and through. Jurisprudence he finds too narrow; theology, with its doctrine of sin, too inconsistent and inhuman, and he concludes that nothing is left him except magic. “All things that move between the quiet pole” are at the command of the master of this art. Kings rule over countries, the *magus* over the universe. By means of the magical art one can raise himself to the sphere of a deity.

It is thus the choice of Hercules between theology and magic, between the Holy Writ and works on magic, between God and Satan. Two angels, one good and the other bad, appear; the good angel warns Faust, the wicked angel entices him on, telling him that he will through magic gain dominion over the elements, and be on earth what Zeus is in heaven. This is what Faust desires. He calls to him his friends who are already magicians, and is by them initiated into the mysterious art which they have commended to him. His first work

is the conjuring up of the devil. Mephistopheles appears in diabolical form, and promises to come again, but in the dress of a Franciscan monk; for the guise of a holy man quite becomes the devil. Faust will dispose of his soul to him if he will fulfill all his wishes, and serve him twenty-four years. Faust says that he has no fear of eternal damnation, that, on the contrary, hell would be for him a paradise, because there he would find the ancient philosophers. Lucifer, the prince of the infernal kingdom, must first give his sanction to the compact.

At the midnight hour, Faust awaits, in a gloomy mood, the coming of the spirit of hell. He hears a voice within him call: "*Turn to God again!*" Another voice opposes: "To God? He loves thee not. The God thou serv'st is thine own appetite, wherein is fixed the love of Beelzebub." The two angels appear again. The good angel reminds Faust of the kingdom of heaven; the bad angel entices him by the things of this world. Lucifer concedes to Faust's demands, and the latter sells himself to him, signing the compact with his own blood. The words which appear in letters of blood on his arm: "*Homo fuge!*" are in vain. He is defiant, and says: "Yet shall not Faustus

fly." Rejoicing, the spirits of hell dance around him, laying crowns on his head. The first thing Faust demands is carnal pleasure. Mephistopheles brings him courtesans and a book whose mysterious signs will make him master over gold, the elements, and the demons.

Faust now has all that he desires, but the thought of having forfeited his salvation begins to torment him, and a conversation with Mephistopheles on the subject of heaven agitates his soul; he wishes to turn back, the good angel strengthens him in this resolve, and promises him divine mercy if he repents. "But Faustus never shall repent," the wicked angel says. Faust talks with Mephistopheles about the universe, which leads to the creator of the world, and renews with the thought of God his thoughts of repentance, which the good angel tries to make certain, while the wicked angel threateningly opposes. But, when Faust calls upon the name of Christ and implores his help, the princes of hell appear, and first frighten him by their awfulness, and then delight him by the apparition of the seven deadly sins, an incident which Marlowe may have invented in place of the seven spirits of hell of highest rank mentioned in the Faust book—unless it be one of the later interpolations.

After Faust had seen hell, beheld the firmament from the top of Mt. Olympus, and flown through the heavens in a wagon drawn by dragons, he begins his tour of the earth. He has already seen a great number of cities, which Marlowe names in the same order as the Frankfort Faust book, and has just arrived in Rome, where the feast of St. Peter is being celebrated. This the Chorus relates in the Prologue to the Third Act.

Pope Adrian and the emperor Charles are at war. The Imperial antipope, Bruno, is a prisoner, and lies bound in chains at the feet of Adrian. Two cardinals are charged to search into the matter and see what punishment the decrees of the Council of Trent prescribe for an antipope. Faust and Mephistophiles appear in the guise of these two cardinals, and announce that the sentence is death at the stake. They are commissioned to imprison Bruno, but they give him his liberty, and allow him to return to the protection of the emperor. These pieces of fiction, which have no connection either with historical facts or the chap-book, were probably invented in order that the part Faust plays at the papal court may appear more important, and not consist merely of the pranks and jokes related in the German chap-

book, although the English dramatist does not withhold these from his spectators. And why may not Marlowe himself have invented this Faust who favors the emperor and opposes the pope? If all that is supposed to have been interpolated by others were spurious, there would be scarcely enough left which might be regarded as Marlowe's composition to make a tragedy capable of being performed.

Marlowe has adopted in his drama the conjuring up of Alexander the Great and his wife before the emperor, and the feats of magic performed at the court of Anhalt, as they are found in the chap-book. The journey to the court of the sultan is intimated by a remark which Mephistopheles makes, but it is not brought forward in the play.

At the court of the emperor, Faust not only causes Alexander to appear, but Darius as well. Alexander kills Darius, and hands the crown of the fallen king to his wife. The emperor Charles recognizes the latter by a small spot on her neck. This modification of the mole of the Macedonian queen is a noticeable feature, to which we must return.

Marlowe has adopted in his tragedy three of the magical buffooneries which the chap-book relates, intending them as a contrast to

the more dignified and pleasing feats of magic which Faust performs in the presence of the emperor, and the duke and duchess of Anhalt. These three are the tricks which Faust plays with the antlers on the knight; on the horse trader, to whom he trades his horse, and on the farmer with the load of hay. In fact, it is characteristic of Marlowe's play that grand and tragical scenes are contrasted with those which are comical and burlesque in character. These latter he assigns to the students and Wagner, Wagner and Robin, Robin and Dick, and persons of the lower class. He has also given the clowns a part, as the transforming of the Faust story into a popular drama would seem to demand.

The last fortunes of the magician constituted a theme which, owing to the nature of his tragedy, was very welcome to the English poet. The audience awaits in eager expectation the end, and every moment the effect is heightened. Faust takes leave of his pupils at a farewell banquet, which the devils prepare amidst peals of thunder and flashes of lightning. At the request of one of the guests present, who, the conversation having been upon beautiful women, now wishes to see the most beautiful woman the world has ever seen

—the pearl of Greece—he causes the Helena to appear.

An old man seeks to convert him, whilst warning and comforting him; he succeeds in awakening repentance; but it is the kind of repentance which does not bring salvation, but rather despair, and which Faust, when threatened by Mephistopheles, regrets having felt and defeats by a second consignment. Being now again in the power of the devil, he longs to avenge himself on the good man who wished to save him. He also desires to possess the Helena, whom Mephistopheles gives him. Her beauty causes him to forget the world and the abyss which already yawns before him. There is nothing wanting to complete his measure of crime, and his term has about expired. For the last time the two angels appear, no longer seeking to prevail on Faust, but simply announcing his fate.

The clocks of the city strike the eleventh hour! Fearful of his coming doom, he longs that the time might stop. He implores it to stand still, and prays that the hour be lengthened to a year—or only a month, a week, or even a day, in order that he might still have time for repentance and the salvation of his soul. In vain! The clocks are already strik-

ing the half hour! The time for his condemnation approaches, and suffers no delay. He would willingly endure his punishment if it would only not last forever, if only a ray of hope might cheer him, even though it were after thousands of years spent in torment. He now curses the soul which he has sold. If there were only such a thing as transmigration of souls, as Pythagoras taught, and, instead of going to hell, he might be transmigrated to an animal! The midnight hour is struck! He wishes he might flow into the ocean, as a drop of water, in order to escape the devils who now appear and seize him,

His pupils, who admired his learning, mourn over his body. The Chorus bewails the terrible fall of this man who had such high aspirations.

CHAPTER IX.

*THE GERMAN POPULAR PLAYS
OF FAUST.*

I. THE STAGE-PLAYS.

1. Marlowe's Influence.

Two centuries after the production of Marlowe's Faust, the fragment of Goethe's Faust, which was the form in which it first became known, appeared (1790). The intermediate links between Marlowe and Goethe in the line of dramatic Faust literature are the German popular dramas, the puppet-plays, and Lessing. Dramatic literature has been very productive in the treatment of this subject, and it is still on the increase. It is asserted that from Marlowe up to our own time (1590-1870) not less than 113 Faust dramas have been noted, of which 41 preceded and 72 followed Goethe's Faust.

English stage-players, who, as early as the end of the sixteenth century, appeared in Germany, and during the seventeenth wandered

all over the country, from city to city, were probably instrumental in bringing the German Faust book to London and introducing the English Faust tragedy into Germany, where through its influence as a prototype our popular drama arose. The development of the German Faust legend to a German drama occurred in this roundabout way, through the medium of the English stage, and this reciprocal influence may be regarded as a significant indication, not to say proof, of the affinity which exists between the poetical natures of our own people and the English. Later, there comes a time when a consciousness of this affinity is awakened in our literature, when the prototype of the English is illumined, and Faust is made, at the same time, one of the problems of our national poetry.

The lustrous prototype to which Lessing directed our attention was not Marlowe, but Shakespeare. The former stood in the shadow of this giant, and even Goethe, when writing his Faust, scarcely noticed him. It was only through the study of the epoch of Shakespeare and his precursors, instituted by the Romantic school, together with the study of the Faust legend, its origin and poetical development, which was the result of the deep impression

made by Goethe's poem, that Marlowe was again brought to light, and his importance in the dramatic elaboration of the Faust legend recognized. The weight of Marlowe's tragedy does not lie so much in its artistic value, but more in the influence which it has exerted upon the beginnings of dramatic Faust literature.

A merely superficial knowledge of the German popular drama will suffice to show at once that certain scenes and personages which give it its distinctive character are immediately dependent upon Marlowe; for their prototypes are only found in his composition. I will, in this connection, call especial attention to four points, as follows: 1. Faust's monologue, with which the play begins; 2. The appearance of the two angels; 3. The change from tragic to comic scenes, and the introduction of the clowns, by which means the merry-andrew finds a place in our tragedy; 4. The announcement of the fast approaching, fearful end by the clock striking out the hours. This invention, which was calculated to have the effect of causing a ringing sensation in the ears of the spectators, has not merely been imitated and intensified in our German plays, but it has also been parodied. Now, the watchman, who

sings his verse and announces to Faust by the trumpet's blast his last hours, is added to the clock. The merry-andrew first enters the service of the *magus*, and, finally, that of the watchman. If Marlowe had not made the clock strike out the last hours of Faust the Kaspar of the German puppet-plays would not have closed his career as a watchman; for he was only created to accompany and parody the death knell.

The service which Marlowe performed for dramatic Faust literature was one of great poetic value and lasting influence. Its importance lay in the beginning, which he grasped with ingenious accuracy and established for all time: Faust in his study; surrounded by his books; surfeited with book knowledge and professional learning, with which he is filled, but which leaves his mind empty and awakens his disgust; enticed by magic, to which he is impelled by his thirst for knowledge and the pleasures of the world, and so passionately moved by these feelings that they break forth and find utterance in a monologue! We cannot conceive of this scene in any other form than this, the characteristic features of which bear Marlowe's stamp. In the opening lines of Goethe's Faust:

"I've studied now Philosophy
 And Jurisprudence, Medicine,—
 And even, alas! Theology,—
 From end to end, with labor keen."*)

we still hear the echo of Marlowe's monologue, which our poet only heard through the medium of the puppet-play.

2. The Diffusion of the Popular Plays—and Their Nature.

It is known that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the popular drama of Doctor Faust was often acted, and that it was one of the plays most liked, especially in the second half of the seventeenth century. The Wittenberg professor, J. G. Neumann, in his book (1683) with which we are already familiar,†) has expressly declared that it is chiefly owing to these plays that the story of Faust has been retained in the memory of the people and has preserved its interest, and that, if it were not for these dramas, this obscure juggler would have sunk into oblivion. And in the edition of "Der Simplicissimus" of 1684 it is stated in a note that the history of the infamous arch-

*) "Habe nun, ach! Philosophie,
 Juristerei und Medizin,
 Und leider auch Theologie!
 Durchaus studiert, mit heissem Bemühen."

†) See *supra*, chap. v., pp. 95-96.

sorcerer, Dr. Johann Faust, is acted and seen in preference to all other plays, because a great many devils appear, but, it is added, it is a well-known fact that sometimes the real devil is present, because it is noticed that suddenly there is one devil too many. This interest in the popular dramas probably reacted upon the chap-books, and called forth the revision of Widman's Faust by Pfitzer, in 1674.

The Faust tragedy was acted in Germany for the first time by English players in Dresden on the 7th of July, 1626. Then, representations of Faust by strolling German troupes are mentioned as having been given in Prague in 1651, in Dantzic in 1668, in Bremen, Berlin, Königsberg, Mentz, Vienna, etc. The play was given in Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1741, 1742, and 1767, as we know from play-bills which have been preserved. At the time of the first two representations Goethe was not yet born, at the time of the third he was in Leipsic. He never saw Faust performed by players, but only by marionettes. The clergy of his native city took great offense at the play, and in October, 1767, they entered a complaint with the city officials against its public representation. Similar things had occurred in Königsberg in 1740, and through

Spener in Berlin in 1703. That a Wittenberg professor should appear as a magician before the whole people, deny the name of God, conjure up devils, and dispose of himself to hell, was to the clergy sufficient cause to be gravely offended. What the chap-books had once told with a Lutheran tendency in view, namely, to frighten and warn, appeared now, when seen on the popular stage, as most impious and anti-Lutheran.*)

The duchess Sophia of Hanover relates in her Memoirs, under date of October 3d, 1661, that the duke John Frederick had called German players from Hamburg, and that they had given a representation of "Doctor Faust, whom the devil carried away."†)

An account written by the councillor, G. Schröder, contains a short description of the representation in Dantzic, which affords unmistakable evidence that Marlowe was imitated in a number of scenes. When, speaking of the beginning of the play, he says that, "Faust, not satisfied with ordinary learning, seeks

*) Wilhelm Creizenach: Versuch einer Geschichte des Volksschauspiels vom Doctor Faust (Halle, 1878). Chap. iii., p. 82 *et seq.*, p. 99 *et seq.*, and in other places.

†) Memoiren der Herzogin Sophie, nachmals Kurfürstin von Hannover. Publicationen aus den K. preussischen Staatsarchiven. Vol. IV., p. 70.

books on magic" we are at once reminded of Marlowe. What other form could this scene have than that of a monologue? The ringing of bells in the closing scene is an echo from the English tragedy; but the effect is heightened and carried still farther into the domain of horror. Faust suffers the torments of hell, and in writing of fire appear the words: "*Accusatus est, judicatus est, condemnatus est!*" Here we learn for the first time of the dramatization of a scene which was found in the Faust book of 1590, but which was not in the English translation, and was also wanting in Marlowe, namely, where Faust calls to him the spirits of hell, and asks the degree of their swiftness. At last, we are informed of a scene which was not found in the chap-books, nor in Marlowe, yet which has continued to have an active influence upon Faust literature, and that scene is, "The Prelude in Hell." Pluto calls to him the different kinds of devils, and sends them out to lead men astray, "among others, the devil noted for his shrewdness," who is none other than Mephistopheles, and who probably receives the special commission of seducing Faust.*)

*) Wilh. Creizenach: Versuch einer Geschichte des Volksschauspiels, chap. ii., pp. 47-57, (see *supra* p. 34), p. 128 *et seq.*, and p. 164.

3. *The Merry-Andrew and the Faust Comedy.*

Our popular drama of Dr. Faust is not the work of a poet, but that of the players themselves, who composed their play after Marlowe and the Faust book, adding and improvising new scenes, and changing old ones, to suit their taste, which, however, depended upon the taste of the public. They did not bother about making an exact copy of their drama; for, from the nature of its composition, it did not permit of an established form. It was intended for a class of spectators which wished to see a great variety of action all jumbled together, to witness plenty of spectacle, and to be delighted by not only tragical incidents, but quite as much by comic, laughter provoking scenes, and both of the strongest calibre. The old popular drama was indeed such a play as the Merry-Andrew and Manager in the Prelude to Goethe's Faust desire and describe, that is to say, it was "a piece in pieces" just as is here directed:

"Let Fancy be with her attendants fitted,—
Sense, Reason, Sentiment, and Passion join,—
But have a care, lest Folly be omitted!
Chiefly, enough of incident prepare!
They come to look, and they prefer to stare.
Reel off a host of threads before their faces,
So that they gape in stupid wonder: then

By sheer diffuseness you have won their graces,
And are, at once, most popular of men."*)

The introduction of the clowns and amusing scenes from every-day life took place as early as Marlowe's play. In the German play the rôle of the merry-andrew continually increased in effect, and gradually acquired such significance that it was regarded as only second in importance to that of the principal character, Faust, and thus became a necessary personage in the disposition and conduct of our drama. Through the influence of English plays and players he was called "Pickelhäring," and through the influence of the Italian stage, which began to be felt in the second half of the seventeenth century, and which prevailed in Vienna at the beginning of the eighteenth, he was named "Harlekin" or, expressed in German, "Hanswurst," by which name the merry-andrew appeared in the Volkstheater (people's theatre) at Vienna. It was this

*) "Lasst Phantasie mit allen ihren Chören,
Vernunft, Verstand, Empfindung, Leidenschaft,
Doch merkt euch wohl! nicht ohne Narrheit hören!
Besonders aber lasst genug geschehn!
Man kommt zu schaun, man will am liebsten sehn.
Wird vieles vor den Augen abgesponnen,
So dass die Menge staunend gaffen kann,
Da habt ihr in der Breite gleich gewonnen,
Ihr seid ein vielgeliebter Mann."

character which contributed so much to the favorable reception and the success which our drama met with in Vienna. After Gottsched had done away with the "Hanswurst" elsewhere (1737), he joyfully survived here a few decades longer. When, at last, he was driven by the regular drama from the theatres of Vienna proper, he appeared again, toward the end of the century, in the theatres of the so-called suburbs (Vorstädte) as a farmer's boy from Upper Austria, and bore the name of "Kaspar" or "Kasperle." As such he gained, together with his dialect, admittance into the popular drama of Faust. The Faust drama had now come to be at once a tragedy and a comedy, and its hero could be no more conceived of without his servant as a burlesque counterpart—Faust without Kasperle—than Don Quixote without Sancho, or Don Juan without Leporello.

This phase in the development of the Faust drama, in which the comical counterpart and complement of the *magus* were brought out in popular form, was passed through chiefly in Vienna, during the last century. There were a few features of the play which, not being adapted to the Vienna stage, had to be remodeled. Mephistopheles, when appearing in

human form, could not come as a monk, but was obliged to assume the character of a cavalier. It was also not fitting for the Imperial court to appear on the stage, and take delight in Faust's display of magic art; so the court of the duke of Parma was chosen instead; for Parma, since the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, no longer belonged to the house of Habsburg, but had been surrendered to a Spanish-Bourbon side line.

Austrian stage-players, such as the Kurz and the Schuch companies, carried the Vienna Faust comedy into other parts of Germany. The play was performed on the Schuch stage in Berlin, June 14, 1754, at which time Lessing was in the city and perhaps saw the representation together with Mendelssohn, who, as appears from a statement made by him in a letter dated November 19, 1755, knew the drama and saw nothing tragical in it.

II. THE PUPPET-PLAYS.

I. Their Origin and Their Character.

As the drama which conformed with true dramatic art continued to grow in favor, the popular plays gradually disappeared from the stage, which was their world. They wandered

with all their essential parts from the theatre to the puppet-stage, and, having been deserted by the players, found refuge in the marionettes. Thus the tragi-comedy of Doctor Faust became also a puppet-play. The popular plays had continued to exist in the minds of the players, having been preserved rhapsodically in ever changing forms. Only their outlines had ever been written down (for they had never been printed). The same would necessarily be true of the plays of the puppet-theatres if in our own time the study of Faust literature awakened by the interest in Goethe's Faust had not induced amateurs and connoisseurs of literature to examine into the texts of puppet-players, and to collect and publish these as far as seemed expedient.*) Thus the fundamental features of the stage-plays, which had only broken a chrysalis, as it were, to appear in the form of puppet-plays, may be ascertained through this medium, at least so far as their wooden likenesses will allow. An attempt at such a reconstruction has been made by W. Creizenach in his penetrative and instructive work already mentioned.

*) J. Scheible: *das Kloster*, Zelle XIX., vol. V., pp. 649-922 (Stuttgart, 1847).

The old stage-plays of Faust, together with the modifications through which they have passed, extend over almost a century and a half. The first was performed in Dresden in 1626, the last probably in Hamburg in 1770, at which time Goethe was in Strassburg, where the great puppet-play of Faust re-echoed within him, touching many responsive chords of his soul. The puppet-plays, if we regard the restoration attempted by K. Simrock as a conclusion, extend through a century. The first puppet-play was represented in Hamburg in 1746; Simrock's adaptation appeared in 1846.

The existing puppet-plays are designated by the names of the persons who performed them, the cities where the puppet-theatres were located, or their collators and publishers. I will name of the puppet-players Geisselbrecht*) and Schütz-Dreher; of the cities I will mention Augsburg, Berlin, Cologne, Leipzig, Oldenburg, Strassburg, Ulm, and Weimar; of the literators who have been engaged in the investigation and description, publication and restoration of the puppet-plays, H. v. d.

*) Doctor Faust, der grosse Nekromantist (herausg. in 24 Exempl. von v. Below 1832.)

Hagen, Horn, O. Schade, K. Simrock, and E. Sommer; and of the collators of the present time, K. Engel.

In the Ulm puppet-play the merry-andrew is still called *Pickelhäring*; in the Augsburg, Cologne, and Strassburg plays, *Hanswurst* (*Henneschen*), and in those of Geisselbrecht and Schütz-Dreher, *Kaspar*. It appears that of the existing texts that of the Ulm puppet-theatre bears the closest resemblance to the popular drama of the seventeenth century; while the others have for their immediate source the *Faust* comedy of the eighteenth century as this was developed in Vienna, the texts of Geisselbrecht and Schütz-Dreher having retained the least of the old tradition. Only in the Ulm play is *Faust* represented as appearing at the royal court in Prague; in the others (if they contain an account of the tour of the world) he appears at the court of the duke of Parma. In the Strassburg play *Faust* is the printer of Mentz; in the others, the Wittenberg professor. In the Ulm and Strassburg texts, and also in the text published by Engel (1874), the *Prelude in Hell* is found.

In the Ulm play we notice a feature which certainly originated in the oldest popular drama; for it must have been taken from Marlowe

since it is only to be found there. As a proof of this origin the feature is characteristic, trivial though it otherwise is. As the emperor in the chap-book and in Marlowe's drama, so the king in Prague wishes Alexander and his wife to appear. In the chap-book the emperor recognizes the latter by the large wart on the back of her neck; in Marlowe, however, to whom a wart probably seemed too coarse and unseemly, by a spot on her throat, which very same discovery the king makes in the Ulm puppet-play. *)

None of the puppet-plays has an established original text. They have changed according to time and place, having mixed incidents taken from the oldest popular dramas with others gained from plays of more recent origin. They have even selected and copied features of modern Faust dramas. In the Faust book of 1590 the swiftest devil was as quick as the thought of man. This also satisfied the old popular dramas, which have varied the scene, but have not outvied it. The same is true of the puppet-plays with two exceptions. But for Lessing the quickness of thought was too slow. In his drama the swiftest devil is

*) See the previous chap., p. 168.

..as quick as the transition from good to evil." He causes his Faust to choose this spirit and to drive away the others: "Ha! thou art my devil! Be gone, you snails of Orcus! Be gone!" In the Augsburg puppet-play Mephistopheles says: "I am as swift as the transition from the first to the second step in vice." Faust answers: "Ha! thou art my devil! You other snails of Orcus await my commands, invisible."*) Thus Lessing's thoughts and words are changed when they are understood and improved from the stand-point of a puppet-play! The Strassburg puppet-play has copied almost the whole scene, word for word, from Lessing, only with this difference, that there, as in the Augsburg play, Faust calls to "the snails of Orcus:" "await my commands, invisible!"†)

The printer of Mentz does not belong to the legend nor the puppet-plays of Faust, but only to Klinger's romance, which appeared in 1791, entitled: "Faust's Life, Deeds, and Journey through Hell,"‡) which, without having any connection with the popular tradition, describes the terrible state of things which

*) Scheible, *Das Kloster*. Vol. V., p. 825 *et seq.*

†) *Ibid.*, pp. 865-866.

‡) "Faust's Leben, Thaten und Höllenfahrt."

Faust finds in this world, and which, with the help of the devil, he wishes to improve. The story is told in the style of the French Revolution, and the impression one finally receives is that of an entirely pessimistic view of life and mankind. The first scenes of the Strassburg puppet-play have been copied from Klinger's Faust, and in the choice of the swiftest devil Lessing is followed; thus the two are combined.

A puppet-play the chief scene of whose action is not located in Wittenberg, but which is transferred to Mentz, has manifestly been influenced by Klinger, even though, in other respects, it has retained the features of the Faust legend as these have been brought out in the popular dramas. This puppet-play was performed in Berlin as late as 1844, appearing under the title of Klinger's romance. E. Sommer saw it there, and gives us a description of it. From transcripts which were made from the texts of the puppet-players Schütz and Geisselbrecht, and from his own recollections of a play that he had often seen in the puppet-theatre of Schütz, together with the aid of this sketch of Sommer, K. Simrock has attempted to restore the puppet-play of "Dr. Johannes Faust." He states that all the verses, and, in the main, the form of the dialogue and the

execution, are his own, but affirms that he has added nothing of importance to the subject-matter. Mentz as the dwelling-place of Faust accorded with his supposition.*) Since it cannot be determined with which of the puppet-plays Goethe was familiar, Simrock's attempt at restoration may at least assist us in obtaining a connected idea of the play. It is true, we are sometimes impressed by the turn of expression as though the similarity which exists between this puppet-play and Goethe's Faust were due more to the influence of the latter on the former than *vice versa*.

2. Simrock's Puppet-Play.

The play consists of four acts. The scene of the third act is located in Parma, of the others, in Mentz, where Faust resides, not as a printer, but as a professor. The opening scene begins, as in Marlowe, with Faust's Monologue in his study. He has mastered all knowledge and found nothing which satisfies him. The fruit of his night vigils is a wretched existence, within and without. He says:

*) K. Simrock: Faust: Das Volkabuch und das Puppenspiel (1846). Preface, p. vii. Dr. Johannes Faust. Puppenspiel in vier Aufzügen, pp. 144-204. See *supra*, chap. v., pp. 97-98.

I must form an alliance with hell,
If the secrets of nature I fain would delve;
But when the spirits I wish to call,
I must of magic lore know all. *)

At his left, he hears an alluring, and, at his right, a warning voice. The latter is the voice of his guardian angel, who admonishes him not to forsake the path of theology; the former proceeds from a spirit of hell, which commends to him the study of magic. The friend of theology speaks in descant; the friend of magic in bass. Faust follows the diabolical voice. From one side lamentations are heard; from the other, scornful laughter.

Then the famulus, Wagner, announces the arrival of three students, who wait upon the famous professor and wish to present him with a book. Fortunately it is not a doctor's dissertation, but the key to the art of magic: "*Clavis Astarti de magica*." Rejoicing, Faust receives this longed for work, and wishes to prepare a royal feast for the bearers, but they have disappeared and left no trace of their identity.

He at once conjures up the spirits of hell, eight of whom appear in the form of apes.

*) "Ich muss mich mit der Hölle verbinden,
Die verborgenen Tiefen der Natur zu ergründen;
Aber um die Geister zu citiren,
Muss ich mich in der Magie informiren."

He asks their names, and inquires as to their swiftness. Mephistopheles, the last, is as quick as the thought of man! "You are my man!" Faust calls. "As the thought of man! What more can I ask than that my desires are fulfilled as soon as I think them? God himself cannot accomplish more. *Eritis sicut Deus.* Willst thou serve me?"

Faust demands the enjoyment of all that constitutes this world's glory—fame, beauty, and true answers to all his questions. In return, the abjuration of God and the Christian belief, the vow of impurity, the renunciation of marriage, and, after his term of years has expired, his body and soul, are demanded of him. Twenty-four years Mephistopheles must serve him, the year to be reckoned at 365 days. Thus runs the compact, which Pluto confirms and Faust signs with his blood. Mephistopheles desires the written compact "to provide against the contingency of life or death." Mercury, in the form of a raven, plays the part of messenger to hell. Mephistopheles appears in human form, in a red jacket, with a long, black cloak, and a horn on his forehead. To all other persons he will always present himself in the form which his master desires. Faust shall be accepted in the eyes

of the world as the most handsome man, although he has renounced the comb and the bath, probably after the style which prevails in the company of the unclean spirits.

In the mean time, Kasperle, who as "a wandering journeyman" can find no master, arrives with his bundle at the house of the magician, which, conformable to his desires, he takes for an inn; for his only craving is a very healthy appetite, which demands immediate attention. He engages himself to Wagner as a servant, buffoon, and jester, and has a bountiful meal prepared for himself. After he has exhausted the resources of the kitchen, he ransacks the house, and finally comes to the room where Faust, shortly before, had conjured up the spirits of hell and left his girdle and the book on magic lying on the table. Kasperle now becomes a conjurer without the slightest trouble. He has never learned to read, but he can spell a few words. This is sufficient to enable him to at once discover in the book of magic the whole secret. If one says, "*Perlippe*," the spirits of hell appear, but when one says, "*Perlapppe*," they scud away. With one stroke Kasperle is initiated into magic, which had cost his master so much labor. He has all the advantages of magic

without any of the disadvantages. If one can conjure up devils he must also be able to chase them away again and to play with them as he pleases. Kasperle plays at such a game. He can command the spirits of hell without them catching him. The tragic side of magic is the compact with the devil; without this it is hocus-pocus—a farce. Faust, after being master of the devils, becomes their prey. He is by reason of his compact enslaved to them, and has forgotten the magical word which would free him from their power. Kasperle, however, is not at all concerned with the purposes which are only to be attained by magical means. Magic can be of no use to him, nor can it injure him. The devils who appear and disappear at his command serve him to no purpose. While Faust surrenders himself body and soul to the devil, the spirits of hell cannot induce Kasperle to dispose of himself to them. “My body I need myself, and as for the soul, Kasperle has no soul. When I came into the world, the last soul in stock had been taken.” Faust takes a liking to this gay child of nature, and prefers him to his famulus as attendant in his tour of the world. “Leave Wagner at home: he is tiresome!” It is probably only the Faust of this puppet-play who has such

an antipathy for his famulus, which feeling is manifestly owing to Goethe's Faust.

The description of the tour of the world is confined to the court of Parma, where the wedding of the duke is being celebrated. After various festive amusements have been tried, the seneschal is at a loss for some new form of pleasure. At this most opportune time, Faust and Mephistopheles, who have made a flying trip from Mentz to Parma on their magic cloak, appear. They are expected, for Kasperle, who was commanded to preserve silence, but could not control his tongue, has already divulged to the seneschal that his master, the world-famous Doctor Faust, would soon arrive. Magic arts now afford a new form of festivity. Faust calls up Solomon and the queen of Sheba, Samson and Delilah, Holofernes and Judith, David and Goliath, before the duke and his wife, and makes Solomon, Samson, and David resemble himself; the queen of Sheba, Delilah, and Judith, the duchess, and Holofernes and Goliath, the duke. It is a declaration of love in pictures, the meaning of which is apparent to the duke, and awakens his jealousy. He forms the plan of putting the seducing *magus* out of the way by poisoning him at the table.

Mephistopheles fathoms his design, and carries his master in airy flight to Constantinople.

At the court of Parma Faust suddenly finds himself surrounded by many dangers. He is suspected by the duke of being a rival and seducer, by the people of being a sorcerer and well-poisoner, by the inquisition he is accused of being a magician and heretic. Mephistopheles himself feels his weakness, and has no means of protecting him. "The high clergy is invited, therefore I do not venture to appear at the table." This feature is remarkable, and betrays its origin. It is quite opposed to the Lutheran tendency which prevailed in the chap-books, and does not come from Wittenberg, but from Vienna. Simrock has probably modified the scenes in Parma, bringing out much more clearly their meaning by this change of form, but in all essential respects he has portrayed these scenes in the same manner as Sommer describes them in his above mentioned sketch.

The tattling Kasperle, who blabbed to the people that his master was in league with the devil, is left in Parma. The magic word "*Perlippe*" assists him. Upon a flying sofa, he causes himself to be brought back to Mentz, where the place of nightwatch is open

to him. While Faust completes his tour of the world and hastens on toward hell, Kasperle at home is installed as a nightwatch, and becomes a hen-pecked husband. If one gains in the world nothing more than an arduous position and an ill-tempered wife he is safe from being suspected of owing his good fortune to magic.

After our *magus* has spent twelve years of this kind of life, and has exhausted the pleasures of the world, he finds that none satisfy him; they were all vain. He has sacrificed his salvation for the chaff of empty, delusive enjoyments. He is now seized with the deepest remorse. He tries to pray, but cannot. Even prayer is a heavenly blessing, and this is denied him; however, repentance is also a blessing. Mephistopheles has promised to answer all his questions. Faust now asks: "Can I still return to God?" At this, the devil trembles and escapes, uttering a cry of horror. Faust falls down on his knees before the image of the Virgin Mary, and cries: "I am saved, I can again pray, the fountain of repentance still flows!" At this moment, in the midst of his prayer before the Mother of God, he hears Mephistopheles call: "Behold! the Helena! the Helena, admired

of the old men of Troy!" One look—and prayer and repentance are forgotten. "Is she mine, this divinest of women? Give her to me! Give her to me!" He must a second time abjure his belief in God before his wish is granted; but in his arms the Helena changes into a snake. The devil has deceived him, doubly deceived him; for his term of years is considered expired, although only half the time has elapsed. The year was reckoned at 365 days, and the devil has served him nights as well.

The end approaches. The fear of death increases with every moment. The clock strikes nine! A hollow voice from above calls: "*Fauste! Fauste! Præpara te ad mortem!*"

The clock strikes ten! The voice calls: "*Fauste, Fauste, accusatus es!*" He hears the words, and answers as the chorus in the "Cathedral" scene in Goethe's Faust: "*Quid sum miser tunc dicturus, quem patronum rogaturus?*" Again he falls down before the image of the Virgin Mary, and tries to pray, but the features of the Mother of God seem to take on those of the Helena!

The clock strikes eleven! The voice calls: "*Fauste! Fauste! judicatus es!*" Mephistoph-

eles stands scorning his victim, and awaiting his certain prey, and in reply to Faust's final question as to whether his sufferings will later be still greater than they now are, says: "The torment of the damned is so great that the poor souls would ascend a ladder of scythes if it were pointed to heaven, and they could still hope for delivery." The clock now strikes the midnight hour! The voice from above announces the irrevocable judgment: "*Fauste! Fauste! in æternum damnatus es!*"

III. FAUST, DON JUAN, AND CYPRIAN.

While in Germany the popular dramas of Faust, under the twofold influence of an English tragedy and English stage-players, began to be diffused, there arose, during the most flourishing period in the history of the Spanish drama, two compositions which are very frequently compared with our Faust tragedy. One of these, Tirso de Molina's "Deceiver of Seville, or the Stone Guest," appeared in 1634, and the other, Calderon's "Wonder-working Magician," three years later. Both dramas have been regarded by some as adaptations of the Faust legend; but they are not. The affinity which exists between Don Juan Tenorio of Seville and

Cyprian of Antioch on the one hand and Faust on the other must not be considered from a genealogical but from a psychological stand-point.

In the *magus* of the German legend the old chap-book unites in one character two essential impulses, the yearning for supreme intelligence and the craving for the highest worldly enjoyments. These impulses are the two souls which Goethe's Faust is painfully conscious of possessing. When they flee each other, and are represented, each complete in itself, in one character, one takes the path to heaven, which in mythical language may be called the ascension of the soul, while the other follows the road to hell. Calderon represents this ascension in his "Wonder-working Magician" as the victory of divine love over the earthly, the triumph of religion over magic, whose power is broken by faith.

On the other hand, the craving for the highest worldly pleasure, which has no counterpoise, which drowns or mocks every movement of conscience, and fears neither the earthly nor the divine Nemesis, but rather challenges it, is embodied in a character which, in the intoxication of worldly enjoyments, allows the most frivolous disposition to

exert full control, and this so unscrupulously and so fearlessly, at the same time so naturally and gracefully, as Tirso de Molina has portrayed in his *Don Juan*. However, such a character, which lives continually in a flood of emotion, can be perfectly expressed only by the language of music, and this Mozart has accomplished in his immortal masterpiece.

We are already familiar with the religious-historical origin of the legend of Cyprian of Antioch.*) The legend of *Don Juan Tenorio* of Seville is fitted out with chronological data, and relates that *Don Juan*, through his unbridled love of pleasure, added crime to crime, scorned all things holy, but at last suffered divine judgment in a most strange and frightful manner. This legend is said to have been devised by monks, after this villain, who feared neither God nor man, had been enticed into the cloister where were the grave and monument of his victim, the commander Ulloa, and had been here murdered out of revenge.

Tirso de Molina (*Gabriel Tellez*), himself a monk and priest, has, in the character of his hero, the primitive representative of the

*) See chap. iii., pp. 47-53.

Don Juan type, portrayed in excellent manner wanton frivolity in seeking worldly pleasures and amorous delights with no other thought than of the present; but at last he leaves the victory to the Church. At the very last moment, when hell already yawns before him, Don Juan wishes to repent. It is, to be sure, too late; but he had at least longed for the sacrament. As long as pleasure beckons him on, he casts from him every warning of death and the divine judgment as though he could blow away the future with one breath: "Bah! there is no hurry about that!" We are inclined to have him continue in the words of Goethe's Faust:

"Here, on this earth, my pleasures have their sources ;
 Yon sun beholds my sorrows in his courses ;
 And when from these my life itself divorces,
 Let happen all that can or will !
 I'll hear no more : 't is vain to ponder
 If there we cherish love or hate,
 Or, in the spheres we dream of yonder,
 A High and Low our souls await."*)

*) "Aus dieser Erde quillen meine Freuden,
 Und diese Sonne scheint meinen Leiden —
 Kann ich mich erst von ihnen scheiden,
 Dann mag, was will und kann, geschehn !
 Davon will ich nichts weiter hören,
 Ob man auch künftig hasst und liebt,
 Und ob es auch in jenen Sphären
 Ein Oben oder Unten giebt."

CHAPTER X.

LESSING'S FAUST.

I. LESSING'S EPOCH.

1. The Seventeenth "Litteraturbrief."

THE phases of the popular legend and the popular plays of Faust have been passed through, and the development of their various forms is completed. We stand before the momentous period in which our classical poetry again seeks out the national poetry, and unites with it to bring about a general elevation and rebirth of German literature. The epoch of this reformation marks, at the same time, the origin of a new production of Faust.

Every reformation, no matter what the subject may be which it takes hold of, whether religion, art, or science, means a renewal of life from the depth of its intrinsic and innermost conditions, the restoration from a state of over-refinement and degeneration to its primitive and true form. It always means a return to nature, and a development of origi-

nality. False prototypes which have been artificially learned, and which themselves imitate that which is itself imitation, are no longer to be imitated. The entire coppice of scholastic traditions which covers up the original source is cleared away. The reformatory work begins with the demand to discover the genuine original works, to familiarize one's self with them and penetrate them, taking them as a guide! If this demand is fulfilled only one thing is left to do—to be original one's self! The first requirement is a matter for the school to decide—a problem for the critics; the second and highest requisite is a matter of nature and genius. Lessing made and fulfilled both requirements in the field of German literature. He had, to repeat his own modest statement, something in him which was akin to genius. He was a critical genius whose equal the world has never seen. In place of the false and worn-out prototypes he gave us genuine and inexhaustible ones. He directed our attention to the ancients and to Shakespeare, instead of to the French. He paved the way, and led the genius of the Germans the path upward to the height from which Schiller, looking back a generation later, could with truth say:

Even the shrine of art to invade,
German genius was not afraid;
And in the track of the Greek and the Briton
It sought to achieve a grander fame. *)

If, to mark this great change, we were called upon to designate a time and a writing which form a water-shed, as it were, between our forsaken literature and the living, we could only name the "*Litteraturbriefe*" of 1759, which arose in the middle of the Seven Years' War, not by mere chance, but as an evident outgrowth of this epoch. These letters awakened that intellectual struggle in which Lessing won for German literature the battle of Rossbach. In the seventeenth letter he attacks Gottsched, of whom it had been said that nobody denied his services with regard to the German stage. "I am this nobody," Lessing writes. "I peremptorily deny it. It would have been better if Gottsched had never had anything to do with the theatre." "In our old dramatic pieces which he banished he might have found ample proof that we tend more to the taste of the English than to that of the French, that we, in our tragedies, wish

*) "Selbst in der Künste Heiligthum zu steigen,
Hat sich der deutsche Genius erkühnt,
Und auf der Spur der Griechen und des Britten
Ist er dem bessern Ruhme nachgeschritten!"

to see more that gratifies the eye, and hear more that gives us food for thought, than the timorous French tragedy furnishes us, and that grand, horrible, and melancholy scenes have a better effect upon us than those which are of a delicate, tender, and amorous character." "A genius can be fired only by a genius. Even judged according to the model of the ancients, Shakespeare was a far greater tragic poet than Corneille, although Corneille was well acquainted with the ancient writers, while Shakespeare scarcely knew them at all." "With the exception of the *Œdipus* of Sophocles no play known to the world can exercise a greater power over our passions than *Othello*, *King Lear*, *Hamlet*, etc." And Lessing continues: "But I could very easily furnish you with abundant proof that our old plays had in reality a great deal that was English in its nature. To name only the one best known of these, *Doctor Faust* contains a great many scenes which only a Shakespearean genius could have invented. And how fond Germany was of its *Doctor Faust*, and is still, to a certain extent!"

This is the passage I had in mind when I called the English *Faust* tragedy which had been drawn from the German chap-book an

important prognostic of future events in the history of our literature. The time has come when Faust is pointed to as showing the way, and as furnishing a problem for our national poetry. And Lessing, as if it were not enough for him to mark out the path to be taken, even set his hand to the work of composing a new production of Faust, which he projected and elaborated, but never finished, although it remained for many years one of his plans. We do not know how far the work had advanced, and we are acquainted with but one scene of the execution, which Lessing gives in the "*Litteraturbrief*" just quoted.

2. The Fragment of Faust.

In an old cathedral, at the midnight hour, Beelzebub has gathered the spirits of hell together to hold a council. Each one tells what destruction he has wrought. One boasts of having performed an especially great deed. He has led a saint astray, and within a very short time he promises to work Faust's destruction, whose only fault is his inordinate yearning for knowledge. This excessive passion will cause his fall; for from one fault all others may spring.

Buried in the consideration of deep, philosophical problems. Faust conjures up the devil to settle his doubts for him. The spirit of hell who was so sure of bringing about Faust's ruin appears in the form of Aristotle, and answers his most pointed questions. After this conversation follows a second conjuring, which causes another demon to appear. This is the substance of the first four scenes, which only exist in outline.

In the third scene of the second act Faust calls to him the seven quickest spirits of hell. He asks the first whether he can pass through the flames of hell seven times as quick as his finger cuts the flame of the lamp, without being burned. The devil is silent, and does not move. The second is as quick as the arrows of pestilence, the wings of the wind carry the third, the fourth rides on the rays of light, the fifth is as quick as the thoughts of men. "That is something!" Faust exclaims, "but the thoughts of men are not always quick—not when truth and virtue call." The sixth is as quick as the vengeance of the avenger, "of the mighty and fearful avenger, who reserves vengeance for himself alone, because vengeance gives him pleasure." The reason which Faust gives

for doubting such quickness, and the argument which the devil uses to invalidate this doubt, are of such a nature that every reader who is enough acquainted with Lessing to judge will exclaim: Quite in Lessing's style! "Quick, you say his vengeance is? Quick? And I live still? I still sin?"—"That he allows you to continue to sin is also vengeance!" And how quick is the seventh spirit? "No quicker and no slower than the transition from good to evil!" "Thou art my devil!" Faust cries, "as quick as the transition from good to evil! Yes, that is quick; nothing is quicker than that! Be gone from here, ye snails of Orcus! Be gone! As the transition from good to evil! I know by experience how quick that is! Yes, I know!"*)

This is the only scene given by Lessing in the "*Litteraturbrief*" of February 16th, 1759. He speaks of it as though he had taken it from an old draught of a Faust tragedy written by a friend. "What do you think of this scene? You no doubt would like to see a German play composed of only such scenes as this! I should, too!"

*) See the previous chap., pp. 187-188.

II. THE ACCOUNTS CONCERNING LESSING'S FAUST.

1. The Last Work.

We know that, dating from his friendship with Nicolai and Mendelssohn, Lessing had conceived the plan of a dramatic composition of Faust, and that for many years, until toward the end of his Hamburg period, he was engaged in carrying out his plan. It was announced that the play would be performed in Berlin in 1758. Nine years later, Lessing ordered the "*Clavicula Salomonis*" sent to him at Hamburg, and again took up Faust, working with the greatest ardor in order to finish it and put it on the stage during the winter of 1767-'68. However, he again failed to accomplish his aim. His friends urge him; he delays, and seems at last to have abandoned the project, becoming discontented with a work which could not be completed. His manuscript he may have destroyed, himself; for I am not convinced that it was sent in a box which was lost in March, 1775, on the way from Dresden to Leipsic. At least, the reply he made October 18th, 1768, to the repeated inquiries of his friend Ebert concerning the work gives one the impression that the devil had carried off his Faust. A few years ago,

it was thought that Lessing's Faust had been found complete, but it proved to be a wretched play such as stage-players manufacture, although the announcement did not fail to receive, for a time, the approval of some literary critics.*)

2. Two Compositions of Faust.

In order to thoroughly develop the subject of Faust with its wealth of ideas, it was Lessing's purpose to treat it in two parts, which he designates in his "*Collectanea*" as his First and Second Faust. From incidental remarks we know that he distinguished these as follows: The former was to be worked out "after the common legend;" the latter, on the other hand, "without any diabolical character." The devil or seducer in the Second Faust was to be conceived with human characteristics, and the composition itself was to have the character of a *bourgeois*, or domestic, tragedy. A human devil of this sort could be thought of in various ways, which Lessing has indicated in his "*Collectanea*" by several examples. But if, at the same time, he was to have the character

*) See my article, "Ein litterarischer Findling," in Nord und Süd (1877), Vol. I., No. 2, pp. 262-283.

of a seducer, such a human devil is fully depicted in Lessing's *Marinelli*. Thus in his *Emilia Galotti* Lessing has accomplished in part the task which he proposed to himself in his "Second Faust."

As for his First Faust, he was to live through in a dream what the popular legend and the popular dramas had represented as Faust's real fortunes. Hell's victory is only a delusion. Perhaps it was Lessing's plan to use the idea of Calderon's drama, "Life's a Dream," in the dramatic treatment of the Faust legend, but in a reconstruction such as Grillparzer attempted in his production entitled, "*Der Traum ein Leben*" (The Dream's a Life).

3. The Adaptation of the Legend.

We gain important information in regard to the fundamental idea of Lessing's Faust from two friends of the poet who were acquainted with the work, Captain von Blankenburg of Leipsic and Professor Engel of Berlin. We have an account of the former dated May 17th, 1784, and a letter from the latter to Lessing's brother, who has published the same in the "*Theatralischer Nachlass*" (1786). Their descriptions of the nocturnal

gathering of devils, which constitutes the Prelude to the play, agree as to the leading features. The seduction of Faust passes for the master-stroke of devilish art.

According to Blankenburg's account, the spirits of hell boast to Satan of the works of destruction which they have wrought. One of them states that he has found a man on Earth whom he cannot succeed in tempting, who has no passion, no weakness, and only one impulse, namely, an unquenchable thirst for knowledge! "Then he is mine!" cries the chief of the demons, "forever mine, and more surely mine than as if he had any other passion." Mephistopheles is commissioned to execute the master-stroke, but gains at last only a seeming victory. A heavenly voice calls to the spirits of hell, who, at the close of the last act, strike up their triumphal songs: "In vain do ye triumph! Ye have not conquered mankind and learning. The Supreme Being has not given man the noblest of impulses in order to make him unhappy for eternity. What you saw and now think you possess was nothing but a phantom!"

Engel's account is still more expressive. The fourth devil has performed no work of destruction. He has had only a thought, but

this is more devilish than the deeds of the others. "I will rob God of his favorite, who is a thoughtful, lonely young man, entirely devoted to wisdom, whose every breath and every feeling are for learning, who has renounced all passions except the passion for the truth." "I crept about and examined his soul from all sides; but I found no weak spot where I could attack him." "You say he has a yearning for knowledge?" Satan asks. And upon receiving this reply: "Yes, more than any other mortal!" the chief of the devils triumphs thus: "Then leave him to me; that is enough to cause his fall!" All the devils are to assist in carrying out this work, in which they feel sure of success. But a soft and solemn voice from on high calls: "Ye shall not conquer!"

Our informant adds: "The plan of the whole play is as strange as the conception of this first scene. Here it is a phantom which is led astray, and the real Faust sees this in his sleep as a vision. The devils are deceived, and Faust, when he awakes, profits by his warning."*)

*) I have given an exhaustive treatment of Lessing's Faust in my book entitled: "G. E. Lessing als Reformator der deutschen Litteratur" (Cotta, 1881) Part I., pp. 141-174.

III. LESSING AND GOETHE.

The words of the devil: "I will rob God of his favorite!" and the voice of the angel: "Ye shall not conquer!" are the forerunners of a new Prologue the scene of which will not be located in hell, but in heaven. By the use of this new Prologue to his Faust, Goethe so modified and elevated the Faust drama that it became our *Divine Comedy*. This was not without the influence of Lessing's prototype, for his "*Theatralischer Nachlass*" appeared the same year Goethe went to Italy. Eleven years later, Goethe awakened new life in his own Faust, and composed the "Prologue in Heaven."

How Lessing carried out his profound idea cannot be clearly ascertained from the scanty accounts of our informants. But one thing is certain: Faust was to be saved, and is saved! The but human yearning for truth does not make him the prey of Satan. The Faust legend must be adapted to the spirit of the eighteenth century just as the Magus legend had formerly been reconciled to the spirit of the sixteenth century. With Lessing an epoch of rapid progress in the development of the German intellect had dawned. The desire of

viewing and enjoying genuine original works instead of degenerate imitations is manifested. The German mind desires to be itself original instead of seeing others so. It is already certain of its own power, already impatient to use it to create. The minds are already stirring which are soon to bring the storm! What could appear more closely related to this spirit than the mighty primitive striving after supreme knowledge, than the Titanic and Promethean tendency which lives in our old Faust legend, in Faust, who wishes to speculate in regard to the elements, of whom the chapbook says: "He took to himself the wings of an eagle, and would explore all the secrets of heaven and earth." "It was with him as with the giants of whom the poets relate that they planned to pile up the mountains and wage war against God!" Must not of necessity this new spirit which arose with Lessing and his age be involuntarily impressed and attracted by this *magus* of the German popular legend? Was it anything but natural that in view of this character it should say to itself: *De te fabula narratur?* Here is spirit of thy spirit, life of thy life. This is you yourself! The fire which glows in Faust is of divine origin. What is Promethean is not diabolical.

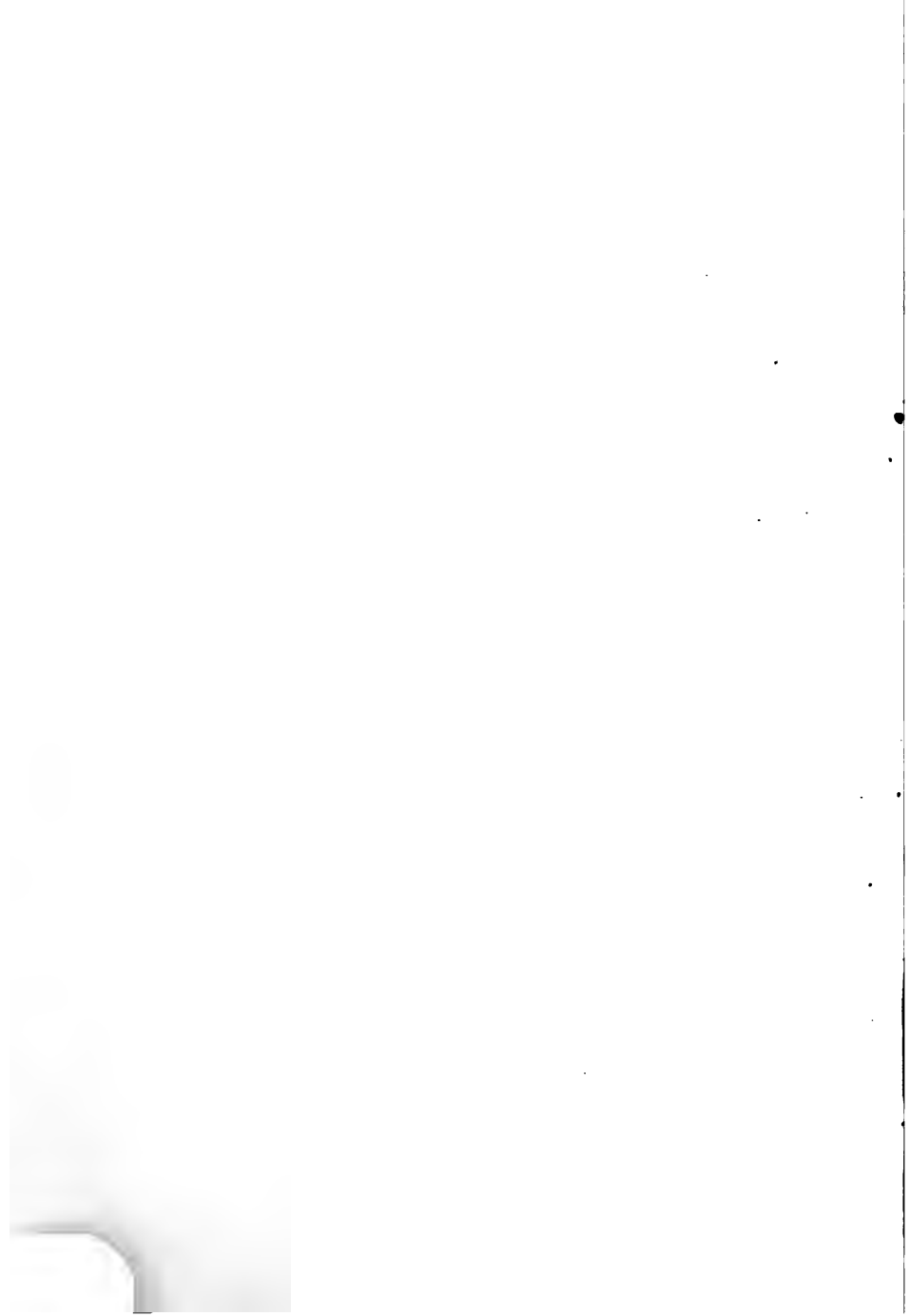
Ages are reflected in their legends. Now, a new epoch has come, ushered in by Lessing—an epoch of intellectual rebirth. It looks with the keenest eyes it possessed, with the eyes of Lessing, into the mirror of the Faust legend, and the features of the *magus* undergo a change. How Lessing comprehended his task is evident; it is not so clear how he performed it. Time looks for the solution of the problem to a new production of Faust. It had long been written in the stars which determine the growth of the German spirit that this poem should constitute one of its greatest poetical achievements, one of its most glorious triumphs. In order to shape the *magus* of the old popular legend so as to accord with the spirit of modern times, the arrival of the great *magus* of our poetry must be awaited, to whom it was given to form men after his image. When Lessing directed attention to Faust, Goethe was a boy of ten years. Another decade, and the time approaches when thoughts of a production of Faust begin to agitate his mind. We know in advance in what direction the new tendency, the influence of which on the legend to be transformed is already manifest, will carry the poem. The words must be fulfilled which in Lessing's

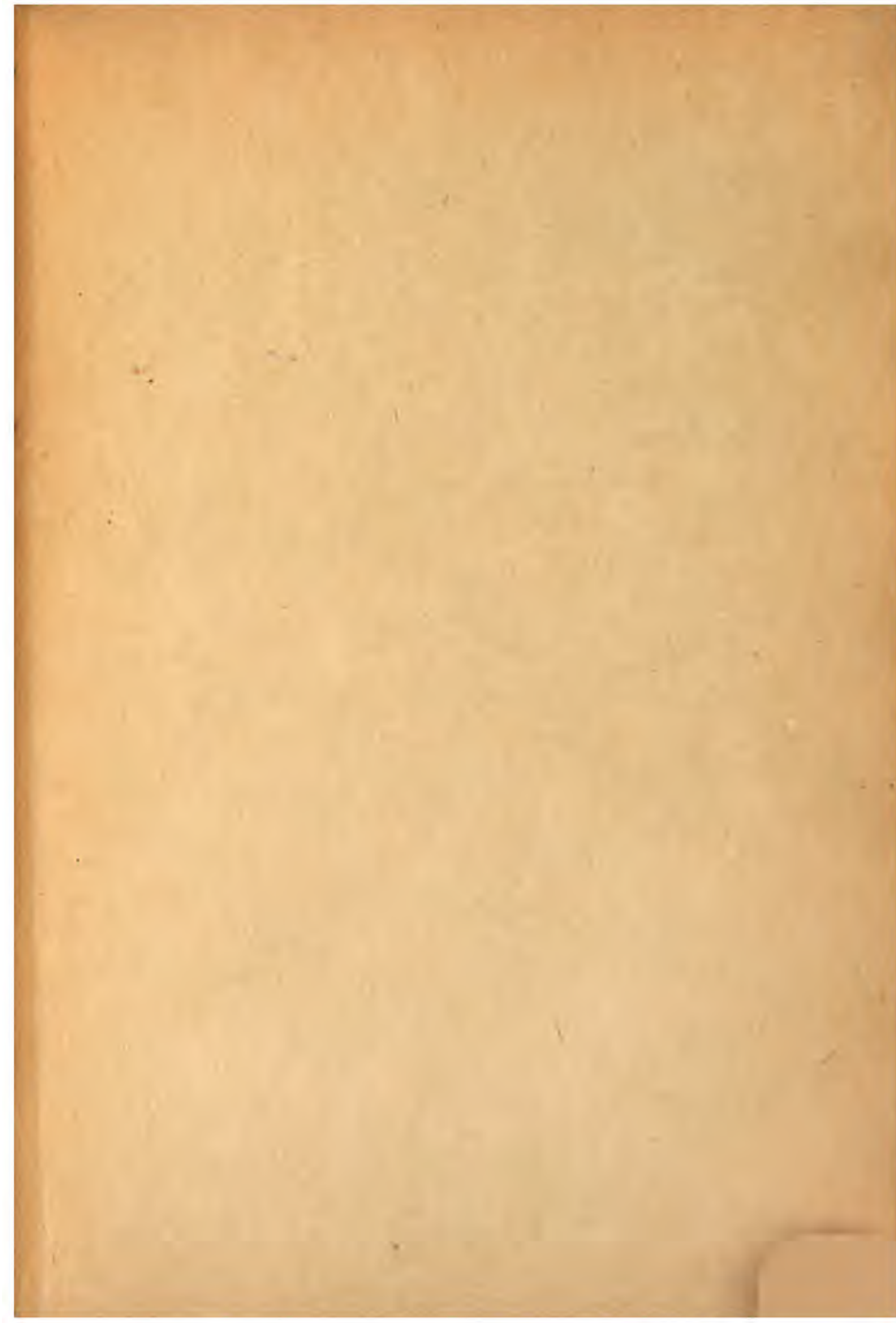
Faust a heavenly voice calls to the devils:
"Ye shall not conquer." At the close of
Goethe's poem the angels triumph, and bear
the immortal part of Faust up to heaven:

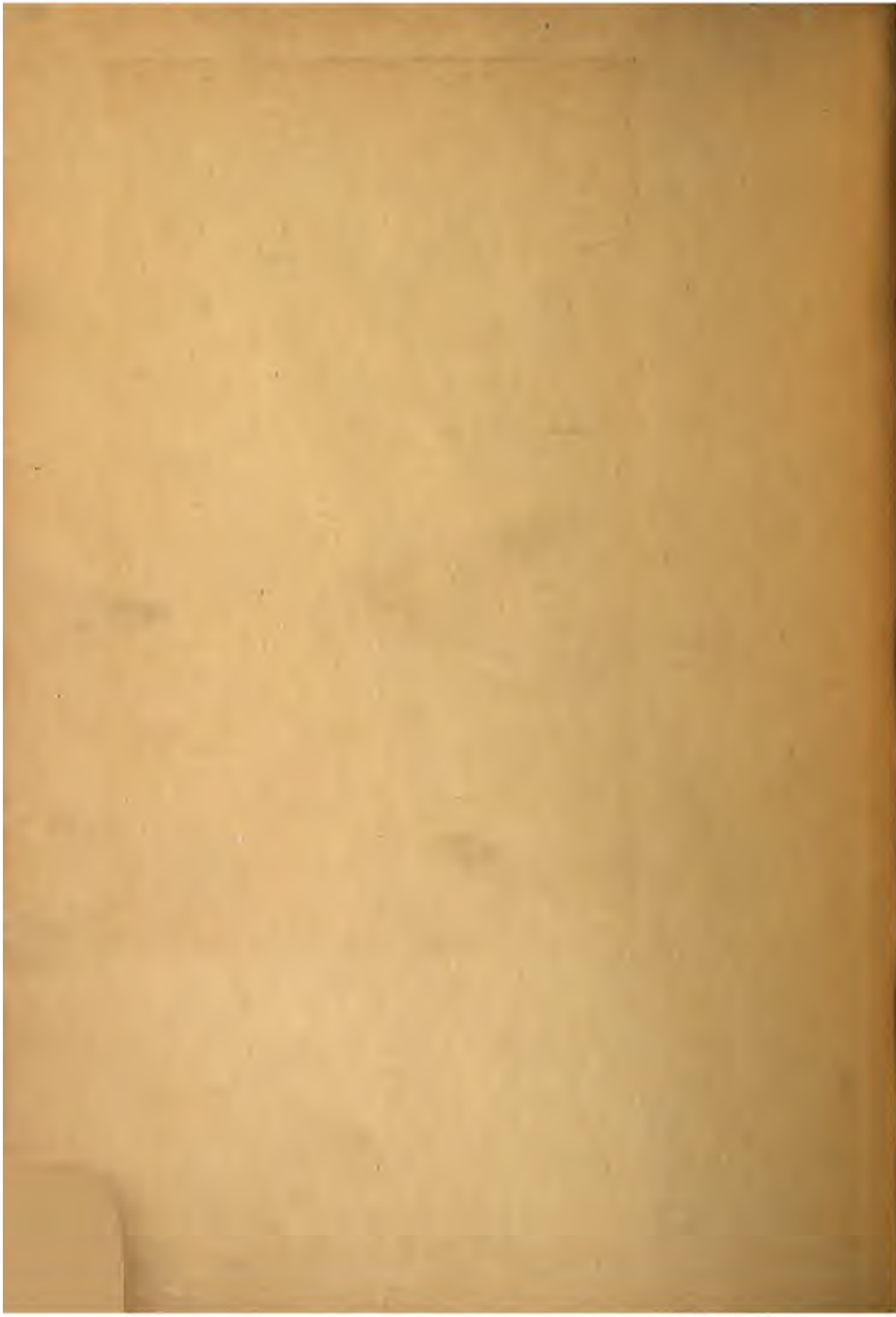
"The noble Spirit now is free,
And saved from evil scheming:
Whoe'er aspires unweariedly
Is not beyond redeeming."*)

*) "Gerettet ist das edle Glied
Der Geisterwelt vom Bösen:
Wer immer strebend sich bemüht,
Den können wir erlösen."

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